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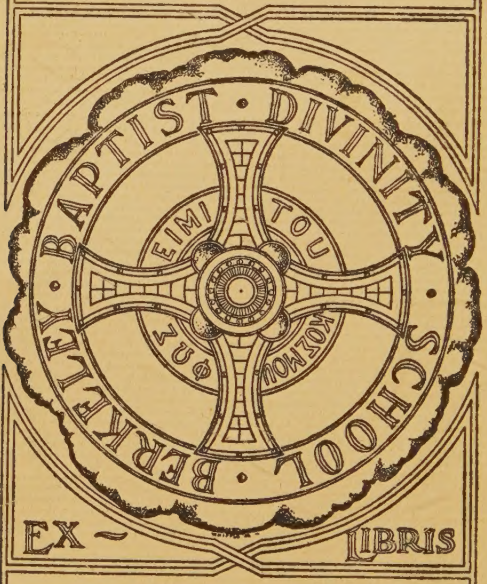

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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

"And tears and toil have been my lot,
Since I the white man's thrall became;
And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
Harsh blows and burning shame!"
PRINGLE

VOL. II, FOR 1836.

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY R. G. WILLIAMS,
FOR THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. I. JANUARY, 1836. WHOLE No. 13

A FACT WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY.

NOT many years ago, a slave was murdered near Woodville, Mississippi, under the following circumstances. The master's child went into the slave's hut and took a stool which belonged to the slave's child. The slave took away the stool and sent the white child home. The child ran crying to his father, and complained bitterly of the ill-treatment he had received in the hut. The father, in a passion, proceeded to the hut, threw the stool out of doors, and severely reprimanded the slave, threatening to flog him. The slave, who had never been flogged, declared he would not be, and fled. After being gone beyond reach, for a day or two, he returned to his master's door, and offered to work faithfully, as he ever had done, if he might not be flogged. His master refused this condition, and repeated his threat. "I have heard," said the slave, "that you have threatened to shoot me. If you do it, you must do it soon." On this, he turned upon his heel and ran. The master took down his double-barrelled fowling-piece, and pursued. He presently discharged a load of shot from one barrel, which wounded the negro in the thigh, and brought him to the ground. He then walked deliberately up, and lodged the contents of the other barrel in his head, producing instant death. Of this crime there

were no witnesses, at least, no *white* ones. The master, however, told the story himself, professing great regret. No legal proceedings were instituted against him, the public opinion being that he was sufficiently punished by the loss of his best slave, whom he valued at one thousand dollars. We have this fact from the lips of a gentleman who resided in Woodville. The planter is a respectable man by the name of Coon, and the statement can be more fully verified, if called in question.

We have not quoted this story, however, as evidence of the peculiar cruelty of slaveholders. We believe that many, if not most of them, would shudder at the thought of murdering a slave as much as ourselves. We wish only to make the fact a sort of text for a few comments, which would not lose much of their force, even if the text should prove fictitious.

1. This master was probably a *kind* one. His slave had always lived with him and never been *flogged*. Hence, the slave had acquired some self-respect, and flogging was a disgrace, as well as a suffering, which he could not think of bearing. Kind treatment will infallibly produce some degree of self-respect on the part of the slave, and this self-respect will not well brook any arbitrary and unreasonable exercise of power. Hence, there is a strong motive against the kind treatment (by this, we mean, treating him like a man) of the slave. It tends to make difficulty in the management of the plantation—to make the master stand in some fear of the slave—to curtail his power, and make him responsible. It must be a bad system, which makes a kind and respectful treatment of the laborers by their employer dangerous.

It may have been true, that the slave in question, by never being flogged, and by his great usefulness on the plantation, had grown so much a lord in his own hut, and so important among his fellow-slaves, that the master was troubled for his authority, and was glad of an occasion to humble the growing spirit of independence. We have heard kind masters lament their indulgence to their slaves as a weakness, ruinous to good discipline and the happiness of the slaves.

Any kind of government is a trial to the temper. Parents find their natural affection for their children none too strong to repress those outbreakings of passion called forth by perverse conduct. Now, think of the trial to which that man's temper is subjected, who holds by a power less restrained than the parent's, one hundred despised slaves. Every one of these beings thinks it is his interest to consult the wishes of his master as little as he can safely. God has not placed in the bosom of the slave that natural affection towards his master, which, in the child, prompts obedience to the parent. Hence, the master is destined to see in the slave, ever repeated proofs of perverseness, unfaithfulness, and what he thinks ingratitude. "Ah!" he exclaims in vexation of spirit, "here are a hundred of these people dependant upon me for every morsel of bread, and yet they show me by a thousand little mean tricks and provocations, daily, that they care not a straw what becomes of them or me. The more I indulge them, the less do I get for it." If it would be ten times too much for the temper of a common man to have the parental government of a hundred children, surely it must be a thousand times too much, to have the master's government of a hundred slaves. The master who is not rendered fretful, passionate, and vindictive, must be more than human. The task may well be regarded as too hard for the temper

of an angel. We speak, of course, of those masters who manage and reside on their own estates. With those who throw all care of their slaves upon the tender mercies of an overseer, it may be different. They may have the sweetest of tempers, but, alas! their poor slaves do not enjoy the benefit.

We are aware we shall be told of the unlimited confidence that masters repose in long tried slaves, and of the joy and shouts of the whole plantation, when young master returns from the distant college. We know, too, that Nicholas and his brother potentates have their faithful ministers—their Potemkins and their Metternichs—and the Russians, Turks, and Austrians, make the welkin ring with their joy, when some *young* potentate condescends to show them his precious self; but it may be doubted, whether they do not shout, drink, smoke, and carouse, as much for their own gratification as from genuine affection for their legitimate sovereigns. Poor wretches, they are glad of a holiday. But be the fidelity real and the joy all sincere, it is proverbially certain, that all does not avail to blunt the thorns that make the wearing of their crowns a misery, nor to quell the mutinous passions which make the poor hearts of those potentates objects of pity.

Now, if slavery is the very wet-nurse of vindictive passion, and if the provocations are incessant, ever fretting upon the galled spot—power being so slightly restrained—what wonder if passion should sometimes, yea, often, break forth into brutal cruelty, and even murder? Cain slew his own *brother*. The duellest, on the slightest provocation, seeks the life-blood of an *equal*. Shall the master—the absolute owner of *the property*—on a greater provocation, stop short of the life of his *slave?* Common sense wants no such facts as that we have taken for a text, to prove the murderous tendency of slavery.

3. *Running away* is the unpardonable sin with slaveholders. Why should it not be? It is a denial, both theoretical and practical, of the master's right of property. It gives the lie direct, and before the world, to the master's assertion that the slave is contented and happy. No man would run from his happiness.—And, last, and worst of all, it sets to all slaves an example of insurrection—of insurrection the more intolerably pernicious, because it is *bloodless*, and thereby adapted to excite no sympathy for the master except among his fellow slaveholders. Hence, if we look for terrible punishments anywhere in the system, we must find them here. The necessity is imperative and absolute. The door *must* be shut against DESERTION, or all is lost,—not only the *property*, but the *character* of the master, for what but grim tyranny could thus be left alone in its glory? Thus, like those persons who tell one lie to hide another, the masters may be—nay, must be, terribly cruel to hide their cruelty.

Now, what sort of a system must it be, which reserves its severest penalty for the greatest virtue which can rationally be expected to grow under it: viz., the manly disposition of the slave to vindicate his own rights, with the least possible revenge for his wrongs?

4. The master, who murdered his slave, had no trial. This was perhaps extraordinary. But suppose he had been tried, found guilty of murder in the first degree, sentenced, and publicly executed, as he would have been, had his victim been a free white person. What would have

been the effect? Obviously to make the slaves understand that they have *rights*, that the master in violating these rights does *wrong*, that they may in some cases resist the master's authority, successfully, through the master's fear of the *law*. The slaves would, of course, infer that in the case in question, the slave was in the right, and the master in the wrong. They are not dull to such lessons. Had it been the slave who murdered his master, he would certainly have been hung, and the slaves of all the neighboring plantations would have been collected to witness his death. And why? Because they would thereby learn a moral lesson—they would make a self-application. It would have a very different effect upon the discipline of the plantations from the hanging of the master. If the fiction that "*the king can do no wrong*," is an important lesson for the subjects of monarchy, why should not the like deception be still more useful on a plantation? There may have been, and we think there have been, some instances of the hanging of masters for the murder of their slaves, but they were obviously dangerous to plantation discipline, and though they have been claimed and quoted for the perverse purpose of defending slavery, yet they deserve to be recorded as among the noblest proofs of the dignity of human nature—of that constitutional idea of justice, which even long habits of wrong-doing cannot wholly erase from the soul.

What sort of a system, let us ask again, must that be, which strongly tempts to a partial administration of the laws for the protection of life, even admitting what is far from being true, that the laws themselves are impartial? Alas! the testimony of no colored man, bond or free, can anywhere be legally received against a white man; and if it could, the punishment of the master, for a crime committed on his own slave and property, would be at open war with that whole system of discipline, which is called "the peculiar policy of the South!"

5. It may seem astonishing, that any community of men should be so hardened, as to think the murder of a fellow-man amply punished by a pecuniary fine,—of a laborer, by the loss of his services. But let us examine the matter. If you narrate to a company of pedagogues a case of the cruel infliction of the rod, whose conduct will they naturally incline to extenuate? That of the culprit, or of the master? We say there is an *esprit du corps*, a spirit of the class, among the schoolmasters, which stimulates them to honor their profession, by taking the part of its members. This spirit leads them naturally and almost inevitably to sympathize with the master rather than with the scholar, at least, in all not very flagrant cases. But if, in the mild and beneficent institutions of society, the judgment of men is liable to be warped, and their sympathy to be perverted, how much more in the harsh system of domestic bondage, where a common avarice is to be added to the *esprit du corps*, which takes sympathy from the slave and gives it to the master. And yet another and more fearful element is to be added—it is the common danger—common not only to the slaveholders, but to all the whites. The slaves are regarded, if they are not in reality, the "jacobins of the south," whose highest desires and interests meet in a successful revolution. For protection from such a catastrophe, the whites rely, not upon nature or law, but upon power. There is, therefore, no denying the danger. We might with almost as much reason expect soldiers to sympathize with their enemies, as the whites of a slaveholding community, with the slaves. If a

slave murders his master, he is an atrocious, malignant villain, of course; there is no dissenting voice. But if the crime is reversed, the mouth of every white man is full of extenuation, and apology, if not of bold justification: nay, more, the murderer is an object of sympathy and commiseration—he has been forced by "*stern necessity*" to do a deed carrying with it a punishment beyond the desert of his transgression! "Poor man! he has a kind heart, but then the provocation was too much for the best of us—in a moment of unguarded passion he has done a deed, which he, doubtless, bitterly regrets." And then, may not the secret thought rise in the heart of the best of slaveholders—"This sad occurrence may not be without its use to *my* slaves. Far be it from me to commit such a horrid crime, but still I have no objection that my slaves should fear a similar fate, should they presume to resist me."

Ah! what a system of oppression must that be, which withdraws from the weak, and the poor, and the defenceless, that heavenly sympathy of the strong, which God meant for the protection of all! What a system must that be, which makes the worst crimes of the cruel apparently available for the safety of all—that ties one scale of justice to the beam, sheathes her glittering sword, and lays the community rather under obligation to malefactors?

[For the Record.]

SLAVERY IN THE ABSTRACT.

Many who will not bear testimony against slavery as it actually exists in *practice*, excuse themselves, by pleading that they are opposed to slavery in the *abstract*. The futility of this plea has been often exposed. But there is one glaring inconsistency in these men that has not been sufficiently noticed. They uniformly contend that there are many cases of innocent slaveholding. When a man treats his slave kindly, as the phrase goes, when he feeds and clothes him well, and places him in as good a condition as the slave system will permit, *then*, it is confidently said, that slaveholding is not sinful. Nay, further, it is sometimes said, that the slaves of *such* masters are so much "better off" in their present condition, than they would be if they were set at liberty, that it would be cruel to emancipate them; and, therefore, under these circumstances, it becomes the duty of the master to retain them, for the present, in a state of slavery.

Now, it is easy to see, that this course of reasoning goes to *justify slavery in the abstract*. According to this sentiment, *slavery itself* is not sinful, and when considered apart from its abuses, is by no means to be condemned. A celebrated doctor of divinity once said to me—"Condemn cruelty, injustice, and oppression, as much as you please, but do not condemn the mere act of holding slaves." What was this but *defending* "slavery in the abstract?" And yet, he thought abolitionists in fault, for misrepresenting many of the northern clergy as being in favor of slavery. "I do not believe," said he, "there is a minister of the gospel in the United States, that is not *opposed to slavery in the abstract!*" What a contradiction! Slavery itself, *abstracted* from the cruelties and abuses which he supposed did not necessarily attach to slaveholding, he had just said, ought not to be condemned!

Every person who pleads for the *innocency*, in certain supposed or actually existing circumstances, of the act of holding slaves, contends for the innocency of slaveholding in the abstract, and fixes all the sin upon the cruelties and abuses which, according to his view of the case, do not properly form any part of slavery. In plain matter of fact, therefore, the opponents of the abolitionists *do* advocate "slavery in the abstract," as well as in practice.

And how can it be otherwise? To advocate any practice, is to advocate the principle upon which it is founded. And to advocate the principle, is to excuse the practice. No man can consistently oppose immediate emancipation, without defending both the abstract principle and the existing practice of slaveholding.

Apologists of slavery, who are not slaveholders themselves, betray the fact that they are slaveholders in principle, and lack nothing but the opportunity and the temptation, to become so in practice. All these are defenders of slavery in the abstract.

The absurdity of apologizing for the present continuance of slavery, and yet professing to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, is so palpable and glaring, that I have long wondered how respectable and intelligent men could maintain such a position. And within a few days past, I have learned of an instance, in which a shrewd and ingenious man, a minister of the gospel in New England, has had the discernment and candor to avow himself a defender of slavery in the abstract. Slavery, he contends, is not wrong in itself, but only becomes so, in consequence of its abuses. The planters, he says, had originally an undoubted right to hold human beings as goods and chattels. He is inclined to think, however, that they have *forfeited* this right by their unkind and cruel *treatment* of their slaves. If abolitionists would only take that ground, instead of condemning slavery itself, under all conceivable circumstances, he is almost or quite prepared to go with them. But as for condemning slavery in the abstract, he can by no means think of adopting such a principle. Many will wonder at the folly of this individual. But certainly there is more consistency, candor, good feeling, and good sense, in the position he has taken, than in those who first attempt to prove that the Bible sanctions slavery, that it is not *malum in se*, that there are many cases of justifiable slaveholding, and then betray their own consciousness of the turpitude of their principles, by shrinking back, and sheltering themselves under the false and flimsy subterfuge that they are *opposed to slavery in the abstract!* Charity prompts the hope, that not a few of those who urge this plea are ignorant of its import, not knowing what they say, nor whereof they affirm. W. G.

RIGHTS.

We make the following extracts from the eloquent little volume on Slavery, just published by Dr. Channing of Boston. We hope they will excite our readers to procure the book; for, although in some points its sentiments are at variance with ours, its general principles are everlasting

truth, and its temper is worthy of all imitation. Dr. Channing disapproves of agitation and Anti-Slavery Societies; but, whoever catches the spirit of his book can never cease agitating nor acting with us, till slavery is no more.

"The whole subject of Rights needs to be reconsidered. Speculations and reasonings about it have lately been given to the public, not only false, but dangerous to freedom, and there is a strong tendency to injurious views. Rights are made to depend on circumstances, so that pretences may easily be made or created for violating them successively, till none shall remain. Human rights have been represented as so modified and circumscribed by men's entrance into the social state, that only the shadows of them are left. They have been spoken of as absorbed in the public good; so that a man may be innocently enslaved, if the public good shall so require. To meet fully all these errors, for such I hold them, a larger work than the present is required. The nature of man, his relations to the state, the limits of civil government, the elements of the public good, and the degree to which the individual must be surrendered to this good,—these are the topics which the present subject involves. I cannot enter into them particularly, but shall lay down what seem to me the great and true principles in regard to them. I shall show that man has rights from his very nature, not the gifts of society, but of God. That they are not surrendered on entering the social state; that they must not be taken away under the plea of public good; that the Individual is never to be sacrificed to the Community; that the Idea of Rights is to prevail above all the interests of the State.

"Man has rights by nature. The disposition of some to deride abstract rights, as if all rights were uncertain, mutable, and conceded by society, shows a lamentable ignorance of human nature. Whoever understands this must see in it an immoveable foundation of rights. These are gifts of the Creator, not grants of society. In the order of things, they precede society, lie at its foundation, constitute man's capacity for it, and are the great objects of social institutions. The consciousness of rights is not a creation of human art, a conventional sentiment, but essential to and inseparable from the human soul.

"Man's rights belong to him as a Moral Being, as capable of perceiving moral distinctions, as a subject of moral obligation. As soon as he becomes conscious of Duty, a kindred consciousness springs up, that he has a Right to do what the sense of duty enjoins, and that no foreign will or power can obstruct his moral action without crime. He feels that the sense of duty was given to him as a Law, that it makes him responsible for himself, that to exercise, unfold, and obey it, is the end of his being, and that he has a right to exercise and obey it without hindrance or opposition. A consciousness of dignity, however obscure, belongs also to this divine principle; and though he may want words to do justice to his thoughts, he feels that he has that within him which makes him essentially equal to all around him.

"The sense of duty is the fountain of human rights. In other words, the same inward principle, which teaches the former, bears witness to the latter. Duties and Rights must stand or fall together. It has been too common to oppose them to one another; but they are indissolubly joined

together. That same inward principle, which teaches a man what he is bound to do to others, teaches equally, and at the same instant, what others are bound to do to *him*. That same voice, which forbids him to injure a single fellow-creature, forbids every fellow-creature to do *him* harm. His conscience, in revealing the moral law, does not reveal a law for himself only, but speaks as an Universal Legislator. He has an intuitive conviction, that the obligations of this divine code press on others as truly as on himself. That principle, which teaches him that he sustains the relation of brotherhood to all human beings, teaches him that this relation is reciprocal, that it gives indestructible claims as well as imposes solemn duties, and that what he owes to the members of this vast family, they owe to him in return. Thus the moral nature involves rights. These enter into its very essence. They are taught by the very voice which enjoins duty. Accordingly there is no deeper principle in human nature than the consciousness of rights. So profound, so ineradicable is this sentiment, that the oppressions of ages have nowhere wholly stifled it.

"Having shown the foundation of human rights in human nature, it may be asked what they are. Perhaps they do not admit very accurate definition any more than human duties; for the Spiritual cannot be weighed and measured like the Material. Perhaps a minute criticism may find fault with the most guarded exposition of them; but they may easily be stated in language which the unsophisticated mind will recognise as the truth. Volumes could not do justice to them; and yet perhaps they may be comprehended in one sentence. They may all be comprised in the Right, which belongs to every rational being, to exercise his powers for the promotion of his own and others' Happiness and Virtue. These are the great purposes of his existence. For these his powers were given, and to these he is bound to devote them. He is bound to make himself and others better and happier, according to his ability. His ability for this work is a sacred trust from God, the greatest of all trusts. He must answer for the waste or abuse of it. He consequently suffers an unspeakable wrong, when stripped of it by others, or forbidden to employ it for the ends for which it is given; when the powers which God has given for such generous uses are impaired or destroyed by others, or the means for their action and growth are forcibly withheld. As every human being is bound to employ his faculties for his own and others' good, there is an obligation on each to leave all free for the accomplishment of this end; and whoever respects this obligation, whoever uses his own, without invading others' powers, or obstructing others' duties, has a sacred, indefeasible right to be unassailed, unobstructed, unharmed by all with whom he may be connected. Here is the grand, all-comprehending right of human nature. Every man should revere it, should assert it for himself and for all, and should bear solemn testimony against every infraction of it, by whomsoever made or endured."

* * * * * * * *

"We have thus established the reality and sacredness of human rights; and that slavery is an infraction of these is too plain to need any labored proof. Slavery violates not one, but all; and violates them not incidentally, but necessarily, systematically from its very nature. In starting with the assumption that the slave is property, it sweeps away every defence of human rights, and lays them in the dust. Were it necessary, I might enu-

merate them, and show how all fall before this terrible usurpation; but a few remarks will suffice.

"Slavery strips man of the fundamental right to inquire into, consult, and seek his own happiness. His powers belong to another, and for another they must be used. He must form no plans, engage in no enterprises, for bettering his condition. Whatever be his capacities, however equal to great improvements of his lot, he is chained for life by another's will to the same unvaried toil. He is forbidden to do for himself or others the work, for which God stamped him with his own image, and endowed him with his own best gifts. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to acquire property. Being himself owned, his earnings belong to another. He can possess nothing but by favor. That right on which the development of men's powers so much depends, the right to make accumulations, to gain exclusive possessions by honest industry, is withheld. 'The slave can acquire nothing,' says one of the slave-codes, 'but what must belong to his master;' and however this definition, which moves the indignation of the free, may be mitigated by favor, the spirit of it enters into the very essence of slavery. Again, the slave is stripped of his right to his wife and children. They belong to another, and may be torn from him, one and all, at any moment, at his master's pleasure. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to the culture of his rational powers. He is in some cases deprived by law of instruction, which is placed within his reach by the improvements of society and the philanthropy of the age. He is not allowed to toil, that his children may enjoy a better education than himself. The most sacred right of human nature, that of developing his best faculties, is denied. Even should it be granted, it would be conceded as a favor, and might at any moment be withheld by the capricious will of another. —Again, the slave is deprived of the right of self-defence. No injury from a white man is he suffered to repel, nor can he seek redress from the laws of his country. If accumulated insult and wrong provoke him to the slightest retaliation, this effort for self-protection, allowed and commended to others, is a crime for which he must pay a fearful penalty.— Again, the slave is stripped of the right to be exempted from all harm except for wrong-doing. He is subjected to the lash, by those whom he has never consented to serve, and whose claim to him as property we have seen to be an usurpation; and this power of punishment, which, if justly claimed, should be exercised with a fearful care, is often delegated to men in whose hands there is a moral certainty of its abuse.

"I will add but one more example of the violation of human rights by slavery. The slave virtually suffers the wrong of robbery, though with utter unconsciousness on the part of those who inflict it. It may, indeed, be generally thought, that, as he is suffered to own nothing, he cannot fall at least, under this kind of violence. But it is not true that he owns nothing. Whatever he may be denied by man, he holds from nature the most valuable property, and that from which all other is derived, I mean his strength. His labor is his own, by the gift of that God who nerved his arm, and gave him intelligence and conscience to direct the use of it for his own and others' happiness. No possession is so precious as a man's force of body and mind. The exertion of this in labor is the great foundation and source of property in outward things. The worth of articles of traffic is measured by the labor expended in their production. To the

great mass of men, in all countries, their strength or labor is their whole fortune. To seize on this would be to rob them of their all. In truth, no robbery is so great as that to which the slave is habitually subjected. To take by force, a man's whole estate, the fruit of years of toil, would by universal consent be denounced as a great wrong; but what is this, compared with seizing the man himself, and appropriating to our use the limbs, faculties, strength, and labor, by which all property is won and held fast? The right of property in outward things is as nothing, compared with our right to ourselves. Were the slaveholder stript of his fortune, he would count the violence slight, compared with what he would suffer, were his person seized and devoted as a chattel to another's use. Let it not be said that the slave receives an equivalent, that he is fed and clothed, and is not, therefore, robbed. Suppose another to wrest from us a valued possession, and to pay us his own price, should we not think ourselves robbed? Would not the laws pronounce the invader a robber? Is it consistent with the right of property, that a man should determine the equivalent for what he takes from his neighbor? Especially is it to be hoped, that the equivalent due to the laborer will be scrupulously weighed, when he himself is held as property, and all his earnings are declared to be his master's? So great an infraction of human right is slavery!

"In reply to these remarks, it may be said that the theory and practice of slavery differ; that the rights of the slave are not as wantonly sported with as the claims of the master might lead us to infer; that some of his possessions are sacred; that not a few slaveholders refuse to divorce husband and wife, to sever parent and child; and that in many cases the power of punishment is used so reluctantly, as to encourage insolence and insubordination. All this I have no disposition to deny. Indeed it must be so. It is not in human nature to wink wholly out of sight the rights of a fellow-creature. Degrade him as we may, we cannot altogether forget his claims. In every slave-country, there are, undoubtedly, masters who desire and purpose to respect these, to the full extent which the nature of the relation will allow. Still, human rights are denied. They lie wholly at another's mercy; and we must have studied history in vain, if we need be told that they will be continually the prey of this absolute power."

[For the Record.]

IS SLAVEHOLDING SIN?

If we can only settle this question, it will be easy to settle every other question in respect to slavery and emancipation.

If the practice be sin, then its abandonment should be immediate and not gradual. God never authorizes a present continuance in sin, under the plea of future reformation. "*Now* is the accepted time" to abandon transgression. "To-day" and not to-morrow is God's time for all men to cease to do evil.

If slaveholding be sin, then it is the duty of all men to bear testimony against it, and no fears of "excitement" or "danger" can excuse the neglect of this duty.

If slaveholding be sin, then it should be eradicated from the churches,

and nothing can justify Christians and ministers of the Gospel, if they do not show the house of Jacob their sin, and "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." The question then returns, IS SLAVE-HOLDING SIN?

The decision of *this* question may be suspended on the decision of two *other* questions, viz.

1. *Is oppression sin?*
2. *Is slaveholding oppression?*

The first of these questions is easily settled. The Bible condemns all oppression; and so does the common judgment of all men.

The second question need puzzle no man. If any man *doubts* whether slaveholding be oppression, let him tell us, *what form or kind* of oppression on earth he would not *sooner* suffer than become a *slave*.

W. G.

[For the Record.]

"RUNNING AFTER."

SHORT DIALOGUE: *A fact.—Scene, a village in Rhode Island.*

"Friend Perez, I hope thee has done running after these crazy abolitionists."

"Yea, verily, Friend ——, I trust I have: for I have caught up with them, and find myself getting rather ahead of some of them."

THE SLAVE'S ADDRESS TO AMERICAN LADIES.

Natives of a land of glory,
Daughters of the good and brave,
Hear the injured negro's story,
Hear, and help the *kneeling slave.*

Think how nought but death can sever
Your loved children from your hold,
Still alive—but lost for ever—
Ours are parted, bought and sold!

Seize, then, ev'ry favoring season—
Scorning censure or applause;
JUSTICE, TRUTH, RELIGION, REASON,
Are your LEADERS in our cause!

Follow! faithful, firm, confiding,—
Spread our wrongs from shore to shore;
Mercy's God your efforts guiding,
SLAVERY SHALL BE KNOWN NO MORE.

In the name of *two millions two hundred and fifty thousand* slaves, we beseech every one of our kind countrywomen, to imprint these beautiful lines—and, more true than beautiful—upon the tablet of her heart.

ED. REC.

SINGULAR DISCUSSION.

One of our agents writes from Connecticut, "I attended a singular discussion this afternoon—no other than this—Whether the blacks shall be buried in the new burying-ground as other people are, or *off one side, by themselves!!!* The vote went against the negro-haters. This was in a parish meeting."

BARBARITY.

To show that the system of slavery is connected with abominable atrocities, of which the half has never yet been told, we mention a fact lately communicated by a gentleman from a slave State. A slaveholder living in the State of Delaware, some years since, informed a friend that the overseer of his plantation in Louisiana, worked the hands so hard, that one of the women was delivered of a child whilst *at the hoe!* And this slaveholder was a Senator of the United States!!

RECEIPTS.

Receipts into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society from Nov. 16th to Dec. 14th, 1835.

Andover, Mass., A. S. Society, C. J. Torrey per S. J. May,	30 00
Pawtucket, R. I., Female A. S. Society, per Cynthia Hill,	15 00
Vermont A. S. Society, per R. T. Robinson,	100 00
Catskill, N. Y., Robert Jackson,	150 00
Hamilton College A. S. Society, by J. R. Dixon,	5 00
Palmyra, N. Y., O. Clapp,	2 00
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., A lady, by L. Tappan,	10 00
Pompey, N. Y., Rev. J. Gridley,	3 00
Pleasant Ville, N. Y., Miss A. Pierce,	2 50
Philadelphia, Pa., Rev. H. Barber,	5 00
Aurora, Ohio, Mrs H. Seward,	1 00
Geneva, Ashtabula Co. Ohio, A. S. Society,	5 00
Tallmadge, Ohio, Dr. P. Wright,	5 00
" " Mrs. C. Wright,	1 50
Whidock, Brown Co. Ohio, Presbyterian collection, per R. Rutherford,	8 00
	$343 00

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8, Cedar St.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent from Nov. 1 to Dec. 1, 1835.

Andover, O., by E. Seely,	5 00
Catskill, N. Y., Robert Jackson,	4 00
De Witt, N. Y., by Rev. E. Wheeler,	1 50
Darien, Conn., by W. Whitney,	2 75
Farmington, N. Y., by W. R. Smith,	6 00
Haddam, Conn., D. C. Tyler,	50
Hudson, O., by S. Matthew,	5 00
New Rochelle, N. Y., J. Carpenter,	2 00
Oneida Institute,	2 00
Putnam and Zanesville, O., by H. C. Howells,	10 00
Rochester, N. Y., by W. W. Reid,	22 19
Rome, N. Y., by Dr. A. Blair,	15 00
Syracuse, N. Y., S. Conklin,	3 00
Ware, Mass., A. B. Huntington,	1 00
Received for Books, Pamphlets, &c.,	215 85
" " Emancipator,	158 25
" " Human Rights,	56 19
" " Quarterly Magazine,	83 50
	$593 73

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.
Total Receipts, $936 73

☞FUNDS.—The friends of the Anti-Slavery cause are probably aware, that a very large proportion of the funds, necessary to carry on the operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have been derived from the liberality of abolitionists in New York, and that for a month past, the pledges of our country friends having been redeemed more tardily than was expected, the treasury has been *overdrawn.* If to this we add, that the AWFUL CONFLAGRATION of the 16th of December has swept away the wealth of the city to an incalculable amount, we need say no more to stimulate all those who mean *to stand by the cause of truth and freedom*, whether pledged or not, to send in *immediately what they can.* Remittances should be made *by mail*, if no more convenient and prompt opportunity offers, to Mr. JOHN RANKIN, No. 8, Cedar Street, New York.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. II. FEBRUARY, 1836. WHOLE No. 14.

HISTORY OF THE SLAVE, JAMES.

An authentic narrative, communicated by a Lady.

AN elderly lady on the eastern shore of Maryland held many slaves. She treated them with great mildness; manumitted several of the most worthy; and it was generally understood she intended to emancipate them all at her death. Among those who received their freedom, was a bright mulatto woman, named Harriet. She was quite a favorite with the family, being a good seamstress, and occasionally the children's nurse; particularly of the grandson of her mistress, named Tench Tilghman. When this young man arrived at manhood, his father being dead, he took the management of the estates. By virtue of his power as general agent, he sold several of his grandmother's slaves; a proceeding which was understood to be contrary to her wishes.

Among those sold, were three children of Harriet, *his foster-mother!* These children, two girls and a boy, were small. The boy after-

wards married the slave of *another* widow Tilghman, who lived about twenty miles from the residence of his mistress. His mother, Harriet, and her husband, Perry Coward, moved to Philadelphia; but Harriet was under the cruel necessity of leaving her children in slavery. Some years ago, James and his wife made their escape, and took up their residence in the neighborhood of Kimberton, about twenty-eight miles from Philadelphia. By some means, Margaret, another child of Harriet's, escaped from slavery, and came to live with her brother James. Harriet and her husband, Perry Coward, likewise removed from the city and took up their abode under the same roof.

James and his wife were sober, industrious, and extremely attached to each other. They soon gained the confidence of the neighbors, and were enabled to make a very comfortable living. But in an evil hour, Tench Tilghman,* by means of spies, discovered their retreat. The quietude of the family was first disturbed by the appearance of suspicious-looking men, who came among them, under the pretence of inquiring for a horse that had been lost. Something in their looks, or actions, alarmed James's wife, and she expressed a wish to change their residence. But she was then very near her confinement, and as no farther indications of danger appeared, they remained as they were.

One night, when her babe was only eight days old, Tench Tilghman went with several assistants, and seized James, his sister Margaret, and his little son. They would have taken his wife also, but her feeble state of health made it difficult to carry her. Thinking they could trust her strong attachment to her husband, they extorted a promise that she would follow him as soon as she was able.

Poor Harriet in vain entreated her foster-son to have mercy on her children. Finding her entreaties useless, she, in a moment of desperation, took up a stick and struck him. "What do you think my grandmother would say, to hear that you struck me!" exclaimed he. "What would my good old mistress say, if she could see you tearing away my children?" replied Harriet. Then uncovering her bosom, she said, in tones that one would have thought might have softened the hardest heart,—"I suckled you at this breast, and now you drag my children away from me, to send them into slavery!"

Poor James made some resistance, in hopes of escape; but they beat him in such a manner, that marks of blood were all about the door-steps The agonized wife, ill as she was, sprang out of bed, and ran barefooted into the snow, to implore mercy for her husband. Some

* Tench had probably re-purchased the *right* to James.—Ed.

benevolent members of the Society of Friends, who visited the poor desolate creature a few days after, told me they never saw such an affecting picture of human misery. She appeared like one completely stupified; excepting that she continually rocked her body backward and forward, and groaned bitterly. After she became a little more composed, her friends spoke to her concerning her promise to follow James, and asked whether she intended to keep it. This question brought a flood of tears. "Oh dear! I want to see James. How I *do* want to see him! But oh, I dread being a slave again; and my little baby would be a slave too. Oh dear! How happy I was! How happy I was! Sometimes I feel as if I *would* go to James. They used to promise we should never be separated. But they don't keep the promises they make to slaves. James made me promise a long time ago, that I would never follow him, if he should be carried into slavery again. He said it would be sweet to be together; but then all our children would be slaves, and he could not bear the thoughts of that."

Betty did not follow her husband; nor have I ever heard of her being taken, though strong efforts were made to do it. People whose kind hearts were lacerated by these proceedings, wished to aid the poor forlorn creature; but what can be done, where the *laws* sanction crime?

The following letter, from the venerable Doctor Robert Moore, of Philadelphia, to the grandmother of Tench Tilghman, is worthy of the benevolent heart from which it emanated:

"Respected Friend,—Thy well-known character for humanity and benevolence induces me to address a few lines to thee on a subject, which has made a deep impression on my mind. Thy old servant, Harriet, has been several times to see me, in very great distress, almost amounting to distraction, on account of her children being sold as slaves for life; an event she never expected, and which, from my knowledge of thy kindness and humanity to thy slaves, I could not have anticipated. During the ten or fifteen years of my residence in Talbot county, I had good reason to believe thou hadst become very uneasy with holding thy fellow-creatures in bondage, and that it was thy intention to set them free; some, during thy life, as they proved deserving of it, and the remainder at thy death; so that none of thy descendants should have it in their power to sell them, or in any respect to maltreat them. But what was my astonishment, when I heard that thy grandson, Tench Tilghman, had sold a number of thy slaves, who had a right to expect that their good old mistress would not suffer such a thing to be done; but, on the contrary, that she would set them free. Perry Coward is very anxious to purchase some of the children that have been sold. He has collected some money to effect

this, but has hitherto been unable to accomplish his object. He and his poor heart-broken wife would willingly throw themselves at thy feet, and implore thy aid in restoring to them their beloved offspring; or at least some of them. They have lately met with another cruel bereavement, in the capture of James and his son, together with their little daughter Margaret, who was sold to a person in Baltimore, by the name of Smith. She had, by some means, been enabled to reach her parents; but, by the treachery and wickedness of some cruel and hard-hearted men, their place of retreat was discovered, and information given, for the sake of reward. Tench came, with a number of men, and took them off.

"Respecting James, the request of the poor afflicted parents is, that he may not be sold to go to the South. It is astonishing to me how Tench could thus lacerate the parental feelings of his poor old nurse—she who with anxious care watched over his infancy, carried him in her arms, and beguiled his little troubles by her repeated caresses. How *could* he thus tear from her embraces her beloved offspring, dearer to her than her own life! I am a parent, and I can feel for those who have been thus tortured; although, praised be the name of Israel's Shepherd, I never experienced it.

"Now, my dear old friend, my particular desire is, that thou mayest lay this interesting subject deeply to heart, and reflect more seriously on it, than thou hast ever done; and see whether thou canst go down to thy grave, with the load and guilt of slavery upon thy conscience. I consider it an awful thing, for one man to rob another of all that is dear to him on earth—even of himself. In my opinion, it is the highest species of robbery of which a man can be guilty; and for a person professing the Christian religion, which commands us to do to others as we would have them do to us, it is to me unaccountable.

"I hope thou wilt excuse this freedom in one, who wishes for thy present and everlasting peace.

"ROBERT MOORE."

Doctor Moore received no answer to this letter; but sometime after, he received the following from the other Mrs. Tilghman, who considered herself the owner of James's *wife*. It is a curious document, showing what *sort* of benevolence belongs to the "peculiar institutions" of the South.

"SIR,—Understanding that you are in communication with a colored man, named Perry Coward, I am induced to address you on a subject, certainly not of a pleasant nature. I beg not in *any way* to discuss the subject of slavery. As a *principle*, I am satisfied our opinions cannot be very different; though unfortunately, existing *circumstances* make our present views entirely so.

"The wife of Mrs. Tilghman's servant, James Mathis, alias Richard Davies, belongs to me. James and his child have been sold to a gentleman, establishing a plantation of *his own*, who has pledged himself to take his wife, if she be recovered, or if she voluntarily gives herself up, for the sake of being with her husband and child. Although I feel that their separation is now her own act,—she having been prom-

ised that James should be detained, to give her the opportunity of coming on, (which he was for six weeks,) he too having written to induce her to share his *fate.** Still it has occurred to me, that, influenced by Perry, she may have yielded to the expectation that James would not be sold to the South, and thus, perhaps, escape to her. It is useless to deceive herself any longer with this hope. Little as she could expect to receive any favor at *my* hands, appearing as she does, *voluntarily* to separate herself from him, yet as she can only know the fact that he is sold, and not that arrangements have been made, which, *if she has the feelings of a wife and a mother*, will enable her to rejoin her husband and child if she chooses, I am willing to give her the opportunity, and have adopted this, the only mode by which she could be informed of the fact; and I think you would advance both the interests of *humanity* and *good morals* by making it known to her. I pledge myself, that if she wishes to follow her husband, every possible convenience and comfort shall be allowed her to do so. The gentleman is one of our first citizens, purchases for his *own use*, will neither sell again nor separate them: and will, I have every confidence, redeem *his* pledge, as I will mine. The result is with Betty herself (alias Rachel) be it what it may. I have been the more induced to this step, because, independently of the letter written by James to his wife, I have now one on my desk to myself, after it was ascertained she had moved off, and as he expresses himself, "He had no expectation of her coming to him;" which I mention, as it has added to a wish I have always felt, that in any attempt to recover them, they might not be separated. It is for Betty to accept the terms or not.

"I am, Sir, respectfully,

"H. M. TILGHMAN."

"*Hope, near Easton, April 17th*, 1835."

Reader! If you, by any visitation of Providence, should be placed in poor Betty's situation, what would *you* think of those who tore from you a beloved husband and an innocent child, and then, with cruel mockery, called it your own *voluntary* act, and accused you of being wanting in *the feelings of a wife and a mother*, because you shrunk from returning to slavery, to be *the mother of slaves!* Ponder these things in your heart, and be indifferent if you can.

After the receipt of this letter, the following was written to James Mott, of Philadelphia, by the gentleman who had *bought* James. He appears to have been on a visit to Baltimore, but makes no mention of his place of residence; thus imitating Betty's *disinterested* mistress in carefully avoiding any clue to James's destination. We only know that the fate his parents so much dreaded had befallen him; he was sold into the South.

* This must have been a slip of the pen. If she had studied her expressions, she would have said "his happiness."

"BALTIMORE, JUNE 30th, 1835.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am the owner of a man by the name of James Mathews, his sister Margaret, and son, a boy about six or seven years old; before leaving home, I promised James if I could hear any thing of his wife, I would try and see her; at his request I wrote to Mr. Skinner, the Postmaster at this place, to ascertain, if he could, where she was; and, at the same time, enclosed to Mr. Skinner, a letter from James to his wife, begging him to have it conveyed to her if practicable. I have seen Mr. S., who refers me to you, as the person who could probably give me some information about her.

"Since I saw Mr. Skinner, I have been to New-York, passing by Philadelphia, going and returning, and regret that I was too much indisposed to call and see you. I shall now remain here about ten days to ship some goods; if in the meantime you will be so good as to write to me, and James's wife wishes to see me, I will come to Philadelphia before I set out for home. If she does not wish to see me in person, and will write to her husband, and you will enclose the letter to me at this place, it will give me great pleasure to carry it to him; as I know it will be to him a source of inexpressible delight to receive a letter from her, *for stronger and more ardent affection I have never known than he bears for his wife.* I find him a steady, sober, and *pious** man, and am much pleased with him. He professes to be perfectly happy and satisfied with his situation, except the absence of his wife; says he would not return, if it was left to his choice.† He has every thing he wants to make him comfortable, and appears to be an excellent gardener.

"If his wife wishes to join him, *to oblige James*, I will give the gentleman who claims her any price he may choose to ask for her.‡ He has already assured Mr. Skinner, that I shall have her to go to her husband. If she is not entirely satisfied to go, and would not in fact desire it, I shall not consent to take her, as *I would only do it to oblige James.*

"I hope your generous and sympathetic feelings will induce you to see the woman, and at all events get her to write to her husband, as it will be a source of pain and regret to me to return home and be unable to give him any news from her. Do let me hear from you.

"With sentiments of great esteem,

"Your obedient servant,

"ROBERT W. WILLIAMS."

"MR. JAMES MOTT, Philadelphia."

* An advertisement of an auctioneer in New-Orleans, stated there were several "*pious slaves*" in a lot to be sold. Human flesh is sold by the *pound*, and religion thrown in to increase the price!

† *Query.* As the writer had just passed through Philadelphia, why did he not bring James to persuade his wife to go with him to a situation so much preferable to that from which he had been taken by violence? If the gentleman *fully believed* the statement he has here made, he could not have supposed there was the slightest *danger* in bringing James to the North. This assertion, under *such* circumstances, may enable us to estimate what good judges and correct reporters slaveholders are, concerning the happiness of their slaves.

‡ This circumstance probably aroused Mrs. Tilghman to instruct Betsy in the proper "*feelings of a wife and a mother*," as an inducement to return.

Answer to the preceding.

"PHILADELPHIA, 7th mo. 3d, 1835.

"RESPECTED FRIEND,—ROBERT W. WILLIAMS,

"Thy letter of 30th ult. addressed to my father-in-law, James Mott, came duly to hand. As he is out of the city, and will not return for some time, it becomes my duty to acknowledge its reception. I am not able to say what answer my father-in-law would make to thy letter, were he at home; nor what would be his views respecting the purposes thou wishest to accomplish; but as thou wilt expect a reply during thy stay in Baltimore, a proper regard for thy feelings, demands that I should say a word in relation to the case.

"As to the woman, who is the object of thy inquiry, I do not know where she is; nor can I think it probable that any efforts will be made on the part of any respectable citizens here, to induce her to return; particularly, if she did not wish so to do. From the spirit of disinterested kindness that would seem so apparent upon reading thy letter, and from the fact of thy being willing to give "*any price*" for her, it must be taken for granted, that a *benevolent purpose* is all thou hast in view. Thy object seems to be (according to thy letter) *to make her husband happy.* Now, in a spirit of frankness and candor, I would most respectfully suggest, whether thy benevolent intention could not be carried into effect in a manner equally desirable and efficient with the plan which thou proposest, by thy *manumitting James* and his sister and child, and using thy means and influence in procuring the liberty of his wife—sending the former to the North, where he may meet his wife. If he be the "*steady, sober, pious* MAN!" and "*excellent gardener*" that thou assertest him to be, he can find employment; and thus, being a *free* man, he will be enabled to enjoy the happiness attendant on the "strong and ardent affection" which thou sayest so conspicuously exists in him towards his wife. As thou hast no *sinister* motives in this matter, I can conceive of no possible objection to the plan last proposed; as, according to thy own account, he possesses every *qualification* for freedom; and if *thou* wilt only give him *liberty*, the excellence which thou sayest he possesses, will be a passport to every blessing connected with rational existence.

"To advise or encourage in any way, his wife's return to the South, even under the auspicious circumstances which thou speakest of, would involve a most serious responsibility; and one which I, as a fellow-being, should be entirely unwilling to assume. Admitting that thou wouldst treat her with the utmost kindness, it does not change the principle which would govern my conduct in the case. We know that life is held by a very frail tenure. We know, too, the variations and uncertainties with which our worldly fortunes are accompanied. Hence, in case of thy death, or in the event of pecuniary misfortune—from which liability none are exempt—her condition might be unhappily changed; and through the well-intended, but misdirected efforts of her friends at the North, she might be plunged into a vortex of misery and degradation, the wretchedness of which, would perhaps terminate only with her life.

"Any plan in which the cause of human liberty can be sustained or

accelerated, shall receive the countenance and support of the circle in which I have the honor and happiness to mingle. But any act, or scheme, in which the liberty of the human race shall be trodden under foot—though it be even that of a poor despised colored person—will find, in this part of the country at least, a prompt, and I hope no less conscientious rejection.

"With all proper deference, &c., thy friend,
"EDWARD HOPPER."

The writer can say nothing farther concerning the destiny of this much injured couple.

"They heard his agonizing groans,
They heard his little children's cries,
They heard his wife's heart-breaking tones
Piercing the hollow, silent skies.

They heard them all, and turned away:
They heeded not the negro's pain.
If God is just, there *is* a day,
When they must hear those sounds again!"

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

This subject is now warmly debated in both houses of Congress. The members from the South are endeavoring to get Congress to pass resolutions rejecting all petitions on the subject, and disclaiming any right to legislate upon it. And there are too many Northern men who are ready to consign the capital of their country to the shame and wrong of everlasting bondage. We make a few extracts from the speeches of Southern members to show the tone and temper of the South. Our readers will thereby see to what the boasted refinement, gallantry and chivalry of slaveholders amounts. One honorable member of the House of Representatives undertakes to show, that the females who have petitioned for the liberation of six thousand slaves in the District of Columbia are "*devils incarnate!*" Another holds them up to ridicule as "*those blessed pious old maids!*" How decorous and gentlemanly!

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. WISE, OF VIRGINIA.

"The gentleman from New-York (Mr. Granger) said that his good petitioners were not Abolitionists. I think, sir, they are next of kin to them. Many of them are *women*. By the by, sir, have *women* too the right of petition? Are they *citizens*? No one, Mr. Speaker, pays more

cordial homage to the fair sex than I do. Woman in the parlor, woman in her proper sphere, is the ornament and comfort of man; but out of the parlor—out of her sphere—if there is a devil on earth, then she is a devil, woman is a devil incarnate! If I were to paint the image of a demon, a fiend riding on the blast of strife and ruin, hissing rage and rapine, and rape and murder on our lives and property and matrons and maids of the South, it should be the form of a *woman with the hair of the Furies!* One good sanctified priest can persuade all the women in the parish to be abolitionists; and what sort of a government are we to have if women and priests are to influence our legislation? The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) told us that this is a *religious* question. I protest against religion having any thing to do with the political and constitutional questions of this government. Neither women nor priests are politicians except in the intrigues of court. This is a delicate political question, and those only should deal with it who have some common sense as well as experience as statesmen, and who are honest patriots."

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. GARLAND, OF VIRGINIA.

"But, sir, these beautiful prints, and these devilish pamphlets, are not the only firebrands attempted to be circulated among us. These very memorials themselves, coming here in the midst of all this excitement and alarm, hypocritically canting about the piracy and tyranny of slave-owners, have the very same tendency. Gentlemen may conceal it from themselves, but I tell them the tendency is the same—ay, and the design is the same. Why, sir, the abolitionists, from whom gentlemen seem so anxious to separate these petitioners, are now laughing in their sleeves, and openly too, that they have allies who, by a different route, are indirectly laboring to achieve the same object with themselves, and who give respectability to their designs. Yes, the aid they receive in this way stimulates them to exertion, and animates them to hasten the approach of the final catastrophe they are themselves seeking to bring about. Every movement made in this House for the abolition of slavery within the District, is a stepping-stone to the abolitionists to mount up to their work, and encourages them to seek the accomplishment of their purposes. They who tell us that these memorials only look to the District of Columbia, tell us what cannot be credited. If their object was to be limited to the District alone, to the free slaves here, the success would not be worth the exertion, and we should hear nothing about it."

* * * * * * * *

"Mr. Speaker, how ought this question, as it is now presented to us, to be settled? One mode has been attempted, and it failed. Then the only way is to withdraw from these deluded and misguided fanatics all inducements, all hope of aid from the North. Let the northern people themselves tell them, "your scheme shall not be carried out." Why is it necessary for us to appeal to the gentlemen of the North? These fanatics are in the northern States, which are sovereign and independent as to their domestic relations, beyond the reach of our laws, and we cannot reach them by any legislation of ours; but the northern people can and ought to do it. However, we have had some

specimens of the sincerity with which this scheme has been put down in one part of the North, which I will mention for the credit of the parties concerned. I understand there has been a celebrated Anglo-Scotch vagabond travelling through a certain section of the North, by the name of Thompson, preaching abolition; and I hope I shall not be regarded as uncourteous or ungallant in again referring to the females of the North. Well, this felon, for he deserves no better name, and would disgrace that if it were possible, has been holding forth in the churches and public meeting houses of the North, lecturing and propagating his incendiarism, to the great horror and indignation of the people. But what is most singular, the charming influence of the females, those blessed pious old maids, has protected him from all the rage of the indignant citizens! Ay, sir, even at the very moment when the people surrounded him, breathing threatenings and denunciations, determined to suppress his doings and chastise his insolence, his charming female followers and admirers exercised so powerful a charm over him, that they carried him away unseen, as in the midst of a cloud; whether in their pockets, or how, no one can tell; but so it is, he was carried out unseen, and escaped untouched, entirely through female intervention. How potent the charm, thus to paralyze indignant patriotism and fraternal affection."

Mr. SLADE said, Thompson had never been in Vermont.

MR. GARLAND. "Well, I am very glad to hear that Vermont has not been cursed with his presence, and I wish I could say that his principles had never been there; but, somehow or other, all his doctrines have reached there, have apparently taken pretty deep root in some of its soil, and are broached here in their every odious and detestable form and shape. I will, therefore, say to the people of the North, give us your aid in this thing. We love you as brethren, we love the Union, we ask you as citizens, having the power by force of law, which we have not, to put down these abolition schemes, and their aiders and abettors in your midst, and to protect us against these incendiary attempts to bring war and desolation into our very domicils. This, sir, is a national consideration, a consideration deeply affecting the Southern country and the Union itself; and I should despise myself if I could allow any other feelings to enter into my consideration, where the property, the lives, or the liberties of my fellow-citizens are at stake."

We will give another extract of a different character.

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. SLADE, OF VERMONT.

"We are told, in the first place, that this is a question which concerns exclusively the people of this District; that the petitioners have no interest in it, and have no more right to ask Congress to abolish slavery here than they have to petition the Legislature of Virginia to abolish it within her limits.

"Sir, the people who have signed these petitions regard themselves as citizens, not alone of the particular states in which they reside, but of *the Republic*. Every interest within the scope of the legislation of

Congress is their interest. Every thing which concerns this territory concerns them: its police; the value and security of the public property within its limits; and the safety of the representative bodies annually assembled here. This is the growing capital of a great republic. What may be the absolute or relative increase of its slave population, or how much it may affect the future condition of this District, cannot easily be foreseen. That population amounted, in 1830, to more than 6,000. The time may come when it will amount to ten times that number. And is it of no importance to our country whether its capital shall be surrounded by a mass of hardy, independent *freemen*, ready to peril their lives in defending it, as well as themselves, from the invasion of a foreign power, or whether it shall be guarded by 60,000 *slaves*, who, instead of rallying in its defence, may hail the invader as an angel of deliverance from their bondage? And is not this subject invested with additional interest, when it is considered that the *Congress of the United States* will be surrounded by such an amount of *such* a population? Have the petitioners, then, as a part of the American people, no interest in this question?"

THE TROUBLERS OF ISRAEL.

Not long ago we used to hear, that the condition of the slaves was growing better. Speak of the cruelty of slavery, and you were told, "that was true enough once, but slavery is not so bad now." "The severe laws are now seldom put in force." "The slaves are beginning to be instructed," &c., &c.

But now we hear, that the slaves, from being contented and happy, are becoming mutinous and miserable. Their condition is growing "*worse*." What is the matter? Alas, the *abolitionists* have broken into the Eden of slavery and spoiled its bliss! Oh the troublers!

The Governor of Maryland in his late message, says, "Our slaves were believed hitherto to have been no less happy than ourselves. They knew not, they felt not, the hardships of bondage, and if they should now be abridged of their comforts, curtailed in their privileges and harassed by rigid surveilance, the blame must rest with those enemies, both of the white man and the black—the incendiary abolitionists."

How forcibly does this bring to mind the accusation of an ancient oppressor. "And it came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"

"And he answered, I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord."

Alas! if the slaves were always as happy as the masters, why did we hear so much about the *melioration* of their condition? If their lot was once wretched, but has since been made as good as that of their masters, why are they not NOW prepared for emancipation?—and, if they are prepared, why do their masters diminish the happiness both of themselves and slaves by refusing to grant it?

GOD'S ORDINANCE SET AT NOUGHT.

The following *Query* was not long since presented to the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers. "Whether, in case of involuntary separation of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again?"

This *Query* was put in regard to husband and wife separated by sale—an every-day result of the great internal slave-trade. We should suppose any follower of Christ would have answered in his Master's emphatic words: "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." But these ministers made the ordinance of God bow to the demon of slavery—*they* answered:

"That such separation among persons situated as our slaves are, is *civilly* a separation by *death*, and they believe that in the sight of God, it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such case would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships and strong temptations, but to *Church censure*, for acting in obedience to their masters—who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves and to the *spirit* of that command which regulates marriage among christians. *The slaves are not free agents!!* and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent, and beyond their control, than by such separation."

RECEIPTS.

Receipts into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from Dec. 18th, 1835, to Jan. 14th, 1836.

Lebanon, N. H.,	A friend,	25
Northfield and Sanbornton Bridge, N. H.,	Friends,	12 53
Northfield, N. H.,	J. Clough, Jr.,	50
Boston, Mass.,	C. C. Burleigh, per S. J. May,	5 00
" "	Female A. S. Society, "	200 00
" "	Miss A. C. Pratt, "	50 00
Fall River, Mass.,	A. S. Society, "	100 00
Lowell, Mass.,	Ladies "	21 82
Pawtucket, R. I.,	A. S. Society, per Rev. Ray Potter,	50 00
Providence, R. I.,	Ladies A. S. Society, per Mrs. H. L. Truesdell,	20 00
Newbury, Vt.,	Col. L. B. Tibbets,	1 00
Albany, N. Y.,	A. S. Society,	87 00
Bainbridge, N. Y.,	J. S. Fitch,	10 00
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.,	Samuel Thompson,	100 00
Peterborough, "	Gerrit Smith, Esq.	1000 00
Peekskill, "	Dr. J. Brewer,	10 00
Rome, "	Dr. A. Blair,	5 00
Sandy Hill, "	A few Ladies, by Sarah Stow,	5 00
Troy, "	A. S. Society, per S. Town,	50 00
New-York City,	Arthur Tappan,	250 00
"	John Rankin,	100 00
"	J. F. Gibbons,	1 13
"	T. Fessenden,	50
"	John Grescen,	50 00
"	Rev. F. Wheeler,	50
Newark, N. J.,	Dr. J. M. Ward,	2 00
Mercer, Penn.,	Friends, per E. W. Glean,	5 00
Philadelphia,	Young Men's A. S. Society, per W. H. Scott,	300 00
Philadelphia,	A. S. Society, per John Sharp,	500 00
"	colored people, per Joseph Cassey, on $200 pledge,	25 00
Avails of Jewelry received of A. Judson,		7 59
		$3269 73

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8, Cedar St.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from Dec. 1, 1835, to Jan. 1, 1836.

Brooklyn, Ct.,	A. S. S. by Rev. S. J. May,	5 00
Darien, Ct.,	by S. W. Raymond,	1 50
New-York,	Miss C. Woolsey,	75
Philadelphia, Pa.	Ladies A. S. S. by Mrs. L. Mott,	15 00
Portland, Me.	Ladies A. S. S.	30 00
Tompkinsville, N. Y.,	Wm. McGeorge,	50
Received for Emancipator,		124 90
" "	Human Rights,	44 57
" "	Quarterly Magazine,	85 50
" "	Record,	5 25
" "	Books, Pamphlets, &c.,	147 45
		$460 42

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.

Total Receipts, $3730 15

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. III. MARCH, 1836. WHOLE No. 15.

[See page 3.]

THE HUMANITY OF THE AFRICO-AMERICANS.

Variety, governed by order, characterizes the works of God. No two individuals of his innumerable creatures are precisely alike, yet the diversity has its fixed and impassable limits. God's creatures are arranged into classes, easily to be distinguished. The human race, though exhibiting in its multiplied tribes a wonderful variety of external appearance, stands distinguished from all the other tenants of our globe by a peculiar, inalienable and ineffaceable glory. This noble peculiarity, in whatever places, or circumstances, or degree it may be found, is obviously one and the same. It is the EXPANSIBLE SOUL. It is that spark of celestial fire—feeble and glimmering at first—which kindles under the breath of education—nay, which, if not forcibly smothered, bursts forth spontaneously in the glorious forms of *imagination*, *reason*, *conscience*. It is that IMAGE OF JEHOVAH which lays claim to an eternity of existence by its capacity for an eternal growth.

Observe, it is the capacity for improvement, and not the improvement itself which constitutes the badge and birth-right of our race. It is not for one tribe of men to degrade another from the ranks of humanity, for falling below its own standard of acquirement; nor can any one justly plume itself upon a superiority of natural endowments, inasmuch as the endowment itself is from its very nature immeasureable, being a capacity for indefinite enlargement. As well might the hoary sage speak of the little child as the connecting link between himself and the brute, as the enlightened nation hold such language in regard to the most savage horde. He that has a SOUL, whatever may be said of its present powers, is the possessor of an immortal, illimitable, inestimable thing—he is no more to be compared with the brute than eternity with a day.

It is not the design of this article to prove that the Africans are really men. If there are any who doubt their manhood, it cannot be for the want of evidence. Nor is it designed to cite examples to show the *intellectual* equality of that race with the white. This matter is of little consequence in relation to the great question of Slavery. But the *moral* traits of the African character* deserve a thorough investigation.

We well know what can be said of the selfishness and ferocity of savages. This is a world in ruins—and we never fail to find sin developing itself in proportion to temptation. But considering the circumstances in which our colored brethren have been placed, there are traits in their character which must commend themselves to us as good and noble. Their mildness, fidelity and generosity take away all excuse from their ruthless oppressors. It is the glory of Christianity that it teaches its disciples to return good for evil. But what Christian nation can show more or nobler instances of this virtue than the poor, despised, enslaved Africo-Americans? How few are the insurrections and revolts recorded in the history of African slavery! The insurrections that have occured, too, have often been rendered abortive by the affection of some favorite slave for the family of his master. We often hear the slaveholders themselves boast, that in case of insurrection, their slaves would be the first to rally in their defence. This in many instances may be true: but it must not be taken as a proof that the masters have dealt justly with their slaves, much less that slavery itself is a good thing. The truth is, that the

* This whole subject is admirably handled in the seventh chapter of Mrs. Child's "Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans."

colored man never forgets a favor. He is chained by kindness, and will cheerfully give up some of his rights, provided the rest are respected. A traveller in South Africa, relates that a party of Dutch boors had captured five of the natives, and finding it troublesome to convey them to the colony, resolved to shoot them. Four of them were despatched, but the fifth, a woman, clung to her captor so closely that it was impossible to shoot her without endangering his life. He at length interceded for her, and she was carried to the colony, where she served in his family during a long life with the utmost fidelity, never ceasing to regard him as her greatest benefactor.

Whatever may be said of the affection of the slave for his master, he cherishes no good will towards the system under which he is held. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the best treated slaves have joined ardently in revolt, while at the same time they have been willing to peril their lives to save their own masters. A remarkable instance is related by Bryan Edwards in his History of St. Domingo. It occurred during the dreadful rebellion of 1791. As he wrote in favor of slavery, was on the spot directly after the occurrence, and received all his facts from the whites who would not have given to the blacks any credit which was not due to them, his statement may be confidently relied on.

"Amidst these scenes of horror, one instance, however, occurs of such fidelity and attachment in a negro, as is equally unexpected and affecting. Monsieur and Madame Baillon, their daughter and son-in-law, and two white servants, residing on a mountain plantation about thirty miles from Cape François, were apprised of the revolt by one of their own slaves, who was himself in the conspiracy, but promised if possible to save the lives of his master and his family. Having no immediate means of providing for their escape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; after which he went and joined the revolters. The following night he found an opportunity of bringing them provisions from the rebel camp. The second night he returned again, with a further supply of provisions; but declared it would be out of his power to give them any further assistance. After this, they saw nothing of the negro for three days; but at the end of that time he came again, and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, assuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he described. They followed his directions; found the canoe and got safely into it, but were overset by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow escape thought it best to return to their retreat in the mountains. The negro, anxious for their safety, again found them out, and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he assured them he had provided a boat; but said it was the last effort he could make to save them. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themselves up for lost,

when the faithful negro again appeared like their guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry, and bread; and conducted the family by slow marches in the night along the banks of the river, until they were within sight of the wharf at Port Margot; when telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his leave forever, and went to join the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights."—*History of St. Domingo, page 75.*

Far be it from us to justify the bloody vengeance of the oppressed in St. Domingo. The liberty of that island would have been, in our opinion, more speedily obtained and its permanence better secured had the colored people never struck a blow. At any rate, whether it would have been so or not, *they ought not to have drawn the sword.* But if we wish to study the moral character of the African race as developed in the scenes of St. Domingo, we must remember that the horrible atrocities they perpetrated were taught them by their civilized white masters, while their forbearance, magnanimity, good faith, and moral heroism were all their own. The history of St. Domingo from the first revolutionary commotions in 1789, up to the present hour, is full of facts highly honorable to a people just emerging from the savage state, and to humanity itself. Some of these, inscribed as they are on the durable page of history, will be interesting to the reader.

When the French, in 1802, invaded St. Domingo, for the purpose of reducing the blacks to their ancient bondage, one of their first acts, was the capture of Fort Dauphin, on the bay of Mancenille. A large number of blacks were taken prisoners. Contrary to what are called the laws of civilized warfare, they were all murdered, and the bay was reddened with their blood. In retaliation, Dessalines, one of the black chieftians, ordered the indiscriminate massacre of the white planters in the valley of the Artibonite. Most dreadfully was he obeyed.

"But," says the historian, "not all the blacks were so barbarous. Many among them, moved by sentiments of gratitude, or of pity, saved the lives of the unfortunate colonists. Some hid them in the country, and nourished them by the chase, others conducted them by by-roads into the districts occupied by the French. There were some, who, in order not to awaken the suspicion of the pursuers, dressed the victims in thick leaves, and passed them off as the actors of a drunken frolic."*

There is not perhaps on record an invasion more cruel, than that which was made against St. Domingo, under Le Clerc, certainly none

* Antoine Métral, Histoire de l'Expédition des Français, a Saint Domingue, page 76.

more treacherous. When that general found that the wealth of the colony was turned to cinders, and the blacks were still free in the mountains, he sheathed his sword, and betook himself to negociation. He proposed a peace, in which liberty and amnesty were solemnly guarantied to the blacks. It was accepted. But, the event proved that the whole was only a stratagem to remove Toussaint Louverture, and other chieftians, who had so successfully baffled the French arms. No sooner, however, had the French army relaxed itself in this perfidious peace, than a pestilence broke out, which swept away twenty thousand men. The blacks might easily have completed the destruction. What was their conduct? The same historian says,

"The blacks still remained faithful to the peace to which they had sworn: born under the torrid zone the contagion did not mingle its poison in their boiling blood; had they pleased, there would have been an end of the expedition, but they believed it would be unworthy of them to violate the peace, and owe their victory to the pestilence. Hence the blacks faithfully guarded sea and land, and with that hospitality which characterizes unsophisticated men, they received the sick into their houses, and gave them unexpected succor; they even wept over them, no longer seeing in the French their enemies, but illustrious warriors trampled under the feet of an inexorable destiny. Thus they banished revenge, a sentiment terrible in the hearts of savages."

* * * * * * * *

"In the silent streets of the Cape, marked by ruins, and in those of Port au Prince, might be seen, going and returning, these benevolent women [blacks]; their compassion ran from one sick-bed to another, to soften despair, to assuage suffering, and to struggle with the pestilence. They spent day and night with the sick and dying, inhaling their fetid and cadaverous breath. Seeing the impotence of the ordinary remedies, they administered others, of which they had brought the secrets from the deserts of Africa; they had recourse also to their *fétiches*, the worship of which they customarily mingle with the practices of Christianity; thus they implored both their ancient and their new gods, to avert the malady which was mowing down so many warriors. * *

"How many soldiers, captains and generals died or recovered, in the care of these compassionate females, of whom the most had been savages, either bond or free! They had known the disease and they relieved it. The army and fleet owed to them inestimable consolations; France owes them eternal gratitude for having taken this tender and generous care of her children—the very men whom the consul [Napoleon Bonaparte] had sent to reduce St. Domingo, so far as possible, to her ancient bondage. One shudders to think that in return for their compassion, these unfortunate women were perhaps to receive CHAINS." pp. 121, 125.

A later period of this war afforded a remarkable instance of forbearance. The extreme South, in the neighborhood of Les Cayes, was inhabited by many mulattoes who were rich, and notwithstanding pre-

judice, connected with the white planters by marriage. Long after the treacherous peace had been thrown off by the colored people of the north, these remained quiet and attached to the French. A body of colored guards were maintained to keep the peace. But being *suspected* by the whites of disaffection, they were taken on board a ship that lay off the coast, and in one night all thrown overboard and drowned. This cruel ingratitude aroused the people of color, and they flew to arms, under a leader of their own, named Ferrou.

"After having raised the standard of revolt," says the historian, "he gave the order to arrest all the [white] colonists, and to conduct them safe and sound to the village of Coteaux, not far from the sea, where his brethren had been caused to perish. The colonists expected no clemency; they scorned to resort to entreaty, and resigned themselves to their fate.

"Ferrou, in a fierce and bitter tone, addressed them as follows: 'Cruel whites, you scrupled not to sacrifice to your hate, those, who upon this soil, were your defenders, and your hope. How does it benefit us, to be connected with you, by the sweet and sacred ties of nature? Our women are your wives, and your mothers, yet without fear of being parracides, you bathe your hands in our blood! Standing here, I behold the sea, where, in one fearful night, by the pale light of the stars, half a battalion of our color were drowned. What was their crime? To serve you, and love you! The winds and the waves returned us their livid corpses. There were brothers, husbands, companions, friends faithful in servitude, in war, and in liberty. Now, while a just resentment commands us to sacrifice you, go, cross this blood-stained sea, rejoin your brethren, and see in us your enemies, but not your executioners.' Thus Ferrou, who knew how to bridle his passions, caused them to embark for Les Cayes, against which he was about to march by land."—*Laujon, Precis historique, &c. pp.* 160, 161.

It is often said, that the blacks of St. Domingo, drove every white from their island, making all who wore the European complexion, whatever might be their character, the objects of their fury. The untruth of this common opinion is remarkably proved by a fact mentioned in the "Present state of Hayti," by James Franklin, a work that was written by the advice, and paid for with the money of the famous "West India Committee," in London,—and hence not likely to speak any good *falsely* of the poor blacks. A colony of Germans was settled before the revolution in the neighborhood of Cape Nicholas Mole, who cultivated their land only by *free labor.* In 1827, Franklin found them enjoying peace and prosperity, and says of them, "These Germans and their ancestors, seem to have resided in this part unmolested, during the whole of the troubles of the revolution and rebellion; and by the leading chiefs, subsequent to those events, they have been respected

and protected," page 281. Bryan Edwards, who wrote in 1796, also states that they were unmolested.

Many similar facts, pertaining especially to our own country, are in our possession, but must be deferred to a future occasion. It is worth while, however, to remark, that such facts develope the sublimest qualites of our common nature. They infinitely surpass all proofs of mere force of intellect. Is it said they are rare among the blacks? We ask, then, how much more frequent are they among the whites? Which race, in proportion to its advantages, has produced the most of such fruit? We confess for ourselves, that if we were to look about for the best proofs of the dignity of human nature, we should find many of them among our poor, despised, colored brethren. Never have we felt more deeply the force of the following remarks, of one of the most eloquent men of this age, than when studying the character of the Africo-Americans, in the light of their history,—not penned by themselves, be it remembered, but by their enemies.

"I cannot but pity the man, who recognizes nothing godlike in his nature. I see the marks of God in the heavens and the earth; but how much more in a liberal intellect, in magnanimity, in unconquerable rectitude, in a philanthropy which forgives every wrong, and which never despairs of the cause of Christ, and human virtue. I do and I must reverence human nature. * * *
I know how it is despised, how it has been oppressed, how civil and religious establishments have for ages conspired to crush it. I know its history. I shut my eyes on none of its weaknesses and crimes. I understand the proofs, by which despotism demonstrates that man is a wild beast, in want of a master, and only safe in chains. But, injured, trampled on, and scorned, as our nature is, I still turn to it with intense sympathy and strong hope. The signatures of its origin, and its end, are impressed too deeply to be ever wholly effaced. I bless it for its kind affections, for its strong and tender love. I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progression under the weight of so many chains and prejudices, for its achievements in science and art, and still more for its examples of heroic and saintly virtue. These are marks of a divine origin, and the pledges of a celestial inheritance; and I thank God that my own lot is bound up with that of the human race."—*Channing.*

THE CONSISTENCY OF LAFAYETTE.

How delightful the thought that this friend of our country, did not confine his philanthropy, to any clime or color. The only grief he had for America was, that her people were not *all* free. Had all the patriots of the revolution cherished the same spirit, how much better would it have been for our country to-day! The following interesting remarks

we take from the "Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette," just published by Leavitt, Lord, & Co., of this city.

"After the decisive campaign against Lord Cornwallis, in 1781, Lafayette, on receiving the thanks of the State of Virginia, which had particularly profited by his successes, replied, by the expression of a wish, that liberty might be speedily extended to all men, without distinction. But, he was not contented with sterile wishes, and on his return to France, flattering himself, like Turgot and Poivre, that the gradual emancipation of the negroes, might be conciliated with the personal interests of the colonists; he was desirous of establishing the fact by experience, and for that purpose, he tried a special experiment, on a scale sufficiently large to put the question to the test. At that period the Intendant of Cayenne, was a man of skill, probity, and experience, named Lescalier, whose opinions on the subject coincided with those of Lafayette. Marshal de Cartries, the minister of the Marine, not only consented to the experiment, but determined to aid it by permitting Lescalier to try upon the king's negroes the new regime projected. Lafayette had at first devoted one hundred thousand francs to this object. He confided the management of the residence which he had purchased at Cayenne, to a man distinguished for philosophy and talent, named Richeprey, who generously devoted himself to the direction of the experiment. The Seminarists established a colony, and above all the Abbé Farjon, the curate of it, applauded and encouraged the measure. It is but justice to the colonists of Cayenne, to say, that the negroes had been treated with more humanity there than elsewhere. Richeprey's six months stay there, and the example set by him, before he fell a victim to the climate, contributed still farther to improve their condition. La Rochefoucault was to purchase another plantation as soon as Richeprey's establishment had met with some success, and a third would afterward have been bought by Malesherbes, who took a cordial interest in the plan. The untimely death of Richeprey, the difficulty of replacing such a man, the departure of the Intendant, and a change in the ministry, threw obstacles in the way of this noble undertaking.

"When Lafayette had been proscribed in 1792, the National Convention confiscated all his property, and ordered his negroes to be sold at Cayenne, in spite of the remonstrances of Madame Lafayette, who protested against the sale, observing, that the negroes had been purchased, only to be restored to liberty after their instruction, and not to be again sold as objects of trade and speculation. At a later period all the negroes of the French colonies were declared free, by a decree of the National Convention. It is nevertheless remarkable that some of Lafayette's plans, with regard to the slave emancipation were realized. Cayenne, the only one of our colonies in which the example set by him, of instructing the negroes had been followed, was also the only colony in which no disorders took place. Urged by gratitude, the negroes of his plantation declared to Richeprey's successor, that if Lafayette's property was confiscated, they would avail themselves of their liberty; but that in the opposite case *they would remain and continue to cultivate his estates.*" *Vol. I, page* 149.

It is obvious to remark, that Lafayette's experiment prevented troubles in Cayenne, rather by its action upon the masters than the slaves. In none of the colonies did troubles result from the act of immediate emancipation, *through the bad conduct of the emancipated.* So far as *they* were concerned that act rather appeased the troubles which before existed. Not so with the masters; they professed to feel themselves robbed, and, in all the colonies except Cayenne, resorted to violent means to recover their *lost property.* In regard to the gradualism of Lafayette, let it be observed, that his own experience, as well as that of others, for fifty years, has proved the inefficacy and futility of the doctrine. Now it would be madness in us, through a blind reverence for his name, not to profit by his experience. Had Lafayette made freemen of his slaves the moment they came into his possession, they could not afterwards have been confiscated and sold, as a part of his property. We are constrained to admire the consistency of his benevolent feelings towards the suffering slaves, but we have to deplore the inconsistency of his logic.

THE DISRUPTION OF FAMILY TIES.

Do the mothers of our land know that American slavery, both in theory and practice is nothing but a system of *tearing asunder the family ties?* Look at the map of the United States. Draw with your pen a line dividing between the fertile lowlands of the coast and the south, and the more sterile and mountainous uplands of the northern slave states. On one side of this line the principal business by which wealth is acquired is the *breeding of slaves,* to be driven over and worn out upon the cotton, rice and sugar plantations on the other side. And this trade takes off not usually whole families, but the young and the strong. Not a slave mother does there live in the slave-breeding district, who is not liable to lose her son or her daughter the moment her master shall think it for his interest to sell. The character of the master is poor security. Great men, honorable men, kind men, aye, *Christian* men, so called, have sanctioned the traffic. The utmost of their conscientiousness in the matter has been, to impose upon the buyer the necessity of taking whole families; but as this buyer may sell again, and usually buys for that very purpose, who shall say that *he* does not tear the child from its mother, the husband from his wife?

But we are told these blacks do not care! they sing and dance as before—they are hard and callous to the tender feelings that belong to civilized life. Alas, it is the heart of this nation that is callous! The great God has planted in the heart of the mother an affection for her offspring which floods cannot drown—under the trampling hoofs of oppression it only grows the stronger. The fabric of human society is reared on this very principle. Has God made his foundation so

weak that man may set it at nought? No, the attempt to build the wealth of a nation on the ruin of *domestic ties*, will fare worse than that which was confounded on the plain of Shinar. God's foundation stands sure, and the nation that despises it shall feel his wrath in all her institutions.

The parental affection of the negro mother challenges comparison. One of the most calumnious of the advocates of slavery, to whom we referred on a preceding page, says, "It must, I think be admitted, that the affections of the negro race are somewhat warm and unalloyed; and in no instance are they so feelingly illustrated as in the solicitude evinced by the negro for his offspring. To his children his attachment is strong and inalienable; and he displays it on leaving his home with the greatest fervor, and on his return with every mark of gratitude and joy."—*James Franklin's Present State of Hayti, page* 212.

But why do we speak of the negro mother? The principle belongs to all sentient beings. The voice of the whole animate creation cries out against this separtion of families, as treason against nature. There is no brute-mother so stupid as not to cherish a tender regard for her offspring during a certain period which the law of nature has fixed. The difference between the brute and the rational animal is, that in the latter, the affection lasts through life.

The reader will pardon us for the following extracts which well illustrate the law of parental affection. The first is Humboldt's anecdote of *The Mother's Rock*. As the great traveller of South America was ascending the Orinoco, his attention was arrested by a remarkable rock which he thus describes.

"The Piedra de la Guahiba, or Piedra de la Madre, commemorates one of those acts of oppression, of which Europeans are guilty, in all countries wherever they come in contact with savages. In 1797, the Missionary of San Fernando, had led his people to the banks of the Rio Guaviare on a hostile excursion. In an Indian hut they found a Guahibo woman, with three children, occupied in preparing Cassava flour. She and her little ones attempted to escape, but were seized and carried away. The unhappy female repeatedly fled with her children from the village, but was always traced by her Christian countrymen. At length, the friar, after causing her to be severely beaten, resolved to separate her from her family, and sent her up the Atabipo, towards the missions of the Rio Negro. Ignorant of the fate intended for her, but judging from the direction of the sun, that her persecutors were carrying her far from her native country, she burst her fetters, leaped from the boat, and swam to the left bank of the river. She landed on a rock; but the president of the establishment ordered the Indians to row to the shore and lay hands on her. She was brought back in the evening, stretched upon the bare stone [Piedra de la Madre] scourged with straps of mannatee leather, which are the ordinary whips of the country, and then dragged to the mission of Javita, her hands bound behind her back. It was the rainy season, the night was excessively dark, forests believed to be impenetrable stretched from that station to San Fernando, over an extent of eighty-six miles, and the only communication between these places was by the river; yet the

Guahibo mother, breaking her bonds, and eluding the vigilance of her guards, escaped under night, and on the fourth morning was seen at the village, hovering around the hut which contained her children. On this journey she must have undergone hardships from which the most robust man would have shrunk; was forced to live upon ants, to swim numerous streams, and to make her way through thickets and thorny lianas. And the reward of all this courage and devotion was— her removal to one of the missions of the Upper Orinoco, where, despairing of ever seeing her beloved children, and refusing all kinds of nourishment, she died, a victim to the bigotry and barbarity of wretches blasphemously calling themselves the ministers of a religion, which inculcates universal benevolence!"—*Abridgment of Humboldt, in Harper's Fam. Lib. p.* 221.

The heart of every mother, and we think of many fathers, will bear witness that the following lines are true, and no more than true, to nature. We do not know a more touching illustration of that sacred law which slavery scornfully sets at nought. They are from the Pelican Island, by JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Love found that lonely couple on the isle,
And soon surrounded them with blithe companions;
The noble birds, with skill spontaneous framed
A nest of reeds, among the giant grass
That waved in lights and shadows o'er the soil,
There in sweet thraldom, yet unweening why,
The patient dam, who ne'er till now had known
Parental instinct, brooded o'er her eggs
Long ere she found the curious secret out,
That life was hid within their brittle shells:
Thus from a wild rapacious bird of prey,
Tamed by the gentle process, she became
That gentlest of all living things—a mother,
Gentlest while yearning o'er her tender young,
Fiercest when stirred by anger to defend them;
Her mate himself the softening power confessed,
Forgot his sloth, restrained his appetite,
And ranged the sky, and fished the stream for her,
Or, when o'erwearied nature forced her off
To shake her torpid feathers in the breeze
And bathe her bosom in the cooling flood,
He took her place, and felt through every nerve,
While the plump nestlings throbbed against his heart,
The tenderness that makes the vulture mild;
Yea, half unwillingly his post resigned,
When, home-sick with the absence of an hour,
She hurried back, and drove him from her seat
With pecking bill and cry of fond distress,
Answered by him with murmurs of delight,
Whose gutturals harsh, to her were love's own music.

CORRECTION. In the History of the Slave James, printed in our February No. a slight mistake occurred on the first page. Two of James's sisters and a brother were sold by his young master, but he himself was *not* sold. He was in the service of the Tilghman family at the time of his escape.

RECEIPTS.

Receipts into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society from January 15th, to February 15th, 1836.

West Arlington, Vt.,	Dr. A. McKee,		3 00
Acton, Mass.,	Rev. J. G. Woodbury, per S. J. May,		100 00
Amherst, Mass.,	by E. C. Pritchett, balance of pledge,		64 00
Danvers, Mass.,	Abner Sanger, per S. J. May,		50 00
Fall River,	"	R. Durfee,	9 31
N. Lenox,	"	James Judd,	9 50
Stockbridge,	"	Dr. A. Perry,	1 00
W. Stockbridge	"	C. M. Lewis,	5 00
Abington, Conn.,	"Friends," per T. Huntington,		6 25
East Haven,	"	Mrs. D. Hughes,	50
Hartford,	"	Silas Andrus, per R. G. Williams,	100 00
Woodbury,	"	Nathaniel Pierce,	5 00

Perry, N. Y., pledge of $200, by the Genesee Co. Society, Josh. Andrews Jr. of which $60 before acknowledged, was contributed by Messrs H. Phoenix, S. F. Phoenix, and Joshua Andrews, and $140,37 as under.

Arcade, N. Y.	R. W. Lyman,		10 00
" "	C. O. Shepard, Esq.		10 00
Castile, "	Rev. P. J. Bliss,		2 00
" "	J. B. Holsted,		5 00
" "	W. Howard,		1 00
" "	Lucas Janes,		1 00
" "	J. G. True,		1 00
" "	Ziba Hurd,		2 00
" "	Dr G. Wells,		5 00
Covington, N. Y.	Rev. E. Scovel,		5 00
Leroy, "	Society by their Sec., S. M. Gates, Esq.		25 00
Lagrange, N. Y.	Thos. Potwine,		1 25
" "	W. Potwine,		1 25
" "	D. Howard,		1 00
" "	Lorenzo Smith,		25
" "	F. T. Olney,		25
" "	Daniel Rowley,		25
" "	E. Witter,		50
" "	W. H. Conklin		50
" "	Gideon Rood,		50
" "	Henry Bush, Jr.		50
" "	Mrs. A. Bush,		50
" "	C. Jones,		50
" "	Henry Bush,		2 00
" "	Cash,		12
Perry, "	Nathan Chidester,		2 00
" "	E. C. Bills,		2 00
" "	Calvin Waldo,		50
" "	Isaac Mace,		50
" "	Silas Rawson,		5 00
" "	Russel Calkins,		3 00
" "	J. S. Lambright,		1 00
" "	Sydney Lapham,		1 00
" "	Thomas Lapham,		1 00
" "	John Calkins,		1 00
Perry Center,	Dr. Jabez Ward,		5 00
" "	Horace Goodale,		50
" "	Rev. S. Gridley,		5 00
Pemboke, "	C. Freeman,		1 00
Wyoming, "	E. Pomeroy, Esq.		5 00
Warsaw, "	Dr. Augustus Frank,		10 00
" "	F. C. D. McKay,		10 00
" "	W. Chapin,		1 00
" "	S. Fisher,		1 00
" "	John Munger,		1 00
" "	Hewet Kinne,		2 00
Warsaw, N. Y.	John Windsor,		2 00
" "	C. Bronson,		2 00
" "	A. Gregg,		50
" "	R. Chapin,		50
" "	D. Lee,		50
			140 37
China, "	C. O. Shepard, Esq.		5 00
Hamilton College,	A. S. S., by J. R. Dixon,		5 00
Orrington, N. Y.	Joel Lee,		3 00
Rochester, "	G. A. Avery, on account of $500 pledge, by Monroe Co. Society.		25 00
Syracuse, N. Y.	Seth Conklin,		10 00
Sandy Hill, "	Monthly Concert,		2 06
Whitesboro, "	Rev. G. W. Gale,		5 00
" "	Rev. C. Stuart, per H. Ibbotson,		100 00
Williamson, "	J. B. per S. W. Benedict & Co.		5 00
" "	Congregational Society, by J. Talbot,		5 00
Waterloo, "	R. Elliott,		7 00
New-York City,	Ladies' Society, per Mrs. Lockwood, ($100 being avails of work by the young ladies' A. S. Sewing Society,)		225 00
"	"A New-York Episcopalian,"		20 00
"	Ebenezer Jessup, Jr., Esq,		100 00
"	Arthur Tappan,		250 00
"	John Rankin,		100 00
"	Rev. E. Wheeler,		50
"	Wm. Lillie,		1 00
"	Miss Sarah Marün,		1 00
"	Cash,		25
Philad. Penn.,	Ladies A. S. S. by S. L. Gould,		60 00
York, "	"Friends," per do.		27 23
" "	and other places, per do.		50 00
Elyria, Ohio,	Ladies A. S. S. by Rev. J. H. Bells,		1 00
Franklin, "	E. Williams,		1 00
"	"Female Friend,"		10 00
Granville, "	A. S. S. by W. Whitney,		20 00
			$1514 97

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8 Cedar St.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from January 1st, to February 1st, 1836.

Brooklyn, Ct.,	by S. J. May,		2 25
China, N. Y.	by W. R. Lyman,		10 00
Cincinnati, Ohio,	H. Hall,		1 50
Farmington, Ohio,	by D. Belden, Jr.		1 00
N. Y. Mills, N. Y.	by Rev. L. H. Loss,		18 00
Newark, N. J.	Dr. J. M. Ward,		2 00
Putnam, Ohio,	by H. C. Howell,		11 50
Perry Centre, N. Y.	by J. Andrews,		10 00
Perry, "	by J. Sleeper,		5 00
Whitestown, "	by Thomas Beebe,		3 00
Warsaw, "	by F. C. D. McKay,		10 00
Received for Emancipator,			204 75
" "	Human Rights,		70 57
" "	Quarterly Magazine,		58 66
" "	A. S. Record,		15 75
" "	Books, Pamphlets, &c.		277 86
			$712 24

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.

Total Receipts, $2227 21

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. IV. APRIL, 1836. WHOLE No. 16.

WILLIAM PETERSON—THE HEROIC COLORED BOY.

THE MORAL CHARACTER OF THE AFRICO-AMERICANS.

IT will be remembered that in our last number we gave some facts to show that the despised colored people possess, in full measure, that *moral constitution*, which, far beyond any physical or intellectual excellencies, is the glory of man. It appeared that they had exhibited the highest degree of moral heroism—that they had denied themselves for the welfare of others—that they had overcome evil with good—that they had conquered by generosity. It is by no means useless to multiply such facts; for, how can any man fail to attack slavery with all his moral power, after he is brought to see the glorious image of his Creator on the brow of the slave? We make the following extracts from the interesting travels of E. S. Abdy, Esq., and vouch for the truth of his statements from our own personal knowledge.

I was once asked, with a sarcastic smile, by an American lady of Hibernian descent, if I had met with any interesting blacks in the

course of my tour. The winter I passed in New-York furnished what this woman, with all her contempt for a race more persecuted and less fortunate than that from which she herself sprang, would acknowledge to be most painfully interesting. During the frost, some ice, on which several boys were skating, in the outskirts of the city, gave way, and several of them were drowned. During the confusion and terror, occasioned by this accident, a colored boy, whose courage and hardihood were well known, was called upon to render assistance. He immediately threw himself into the water with his skates on, and succeeded in saving two lads; but, while exerting himself to rescue a third, he was drawn under the ice, and unable to extricate himself. No one would risk his life for him. Soon after, the details of this melancholy event appeared in one of the newspapers, (the New-York American,) with an offer to receive subscriptions for the mother,* who was left with a sick husband and young family, deprived of the support which she had derived from her son's industry. As reference was made to a medical man in Park Place, I called upon him, and received a very favorable account both of the boy and his poor mother, who was employed to wash for him. I immediately proceeded to her house, and found that she had three children left;—the eldest about ten years of age, and the youngest an infant at the breast. In addition to these, she had undertaken the care of a little girl, five years old, the daughter of a deceased friend, whose husband had deserted his child, and refused to pay any thing towards her support. 'I consider her as my child,' said the generous woman; 'and, while I have a crust left, she shall share it with my children.' I made inquiries about the boy she had just lost, and was told, what I had heard in Park Place, that his conduct had always been most exemplary;—that he had carried to her every cent he could save from his earnings, and had often expressed a wish that he might obtain sufficient to save her from working so hard;—her business sometimes keeping her up nearly all night.

Such was the history of Susannah Peterson and her heroic boy. It was told in the most simple and natural manner; without any display of grief, or the slightest attempt to exhibit feeling or excite commiseration. There was an expression of dejection, however, in the countenance that could not be mistaken; and an effort to suppress the workings of a mother's heart, that I never saw so striking in any one. Every thing, in the furniture of the room, the decent behavior of the children, and the general deportment of the parent, bespoke full as much propriety and respectability as I ever met with in the same class of life, whatever might be the occupation or complexion. Mrs. Peterson was a member of one of the numerous societies for mutual assistance, which exist among the colored inhabitants of New-York. That, to which she belonged, is called "The Benevolent Daughters of Zion," and contains about 200 members. The entrance money is one dollar, and the subscription money one shilling (about sixpence of our money) per month. The benefits to be derived from it are an allowance of twelve shillings a week for six weeks during sickness; with any addition after that period that the state of the funds may admit of; and, in case of death, the payment of funeral expenses, (generally

* Since dead.

ten dollars.) There is another society to which she once subscribed, "The Benevolent Assistance Society." The entrance to this is two shillings, and the subscription four cents monthly.

These contributions, with occasional donations, enable the society to assist poor persons who do not belong to it, as well as its own members, when in distress. Mrs. Peterson's brother, who is known in England as the African Roscius, had occasionally sent her remittances of money, and had expressed, in one of his letters from this country, an intention to provide for her unfortunate boy's education.

I had frequent opportunities of seeing Mrs. Peterson; and my respect for her character increased with my acquaintance. When I settled a little account I had with her for washing and other work, I had some difficulty in prevailing upon her to take what was strictly her due; such was the gratitude for the few services I was enabled, with the assistance of my friends, to render her. Three months had elapsed since the death of young Peterson, and not one of the relatives of either of the boys, whose lives he had saved at the cost of his own, had been near his bereaved mother; and the subscription did not amount to seventy dollars. This, at least, was all she had received. Two English ladies, who had been with her six or eight weeks before, had informed her that they had collected twenty dollars for her. When we consider that the population of the place amounts to more than two hundred and fifty thousand, including Brooklyn, it is little to its credit that the gratitude it felt for the preservation of two of its citizens could find no better way to exhibit itself, than by a paltry donation to the self-devoted preserver's afflicted parent, of a sum scarcely exceeding one-fourth of what he might have been sold for when living, in the slave market at New-Orleans.

On the very day that this generous act was performed by a poor lad of color, another example of humanity was given by a man belonging to the same "degraded caste." This case did not excite the same attention, though it well deserved commemoration and recompense. The latter it had in the shape of five dollars, from the father of the boy who had been rescued from a watery grave. The name of the man who distinguished himself was Jones. He declined receiving any remuneration, and the money was given to another colored man, (Austin,) who had carried the child home with him, put him into his own bed, and restored him to life from the state of exhaustion in which he was when taken out of the water. Several white men were standing near when the accident occurred; but none of them ventured to quit dry land. Two months elapsed before the father of the boy visited the man to whom he was indebted for the life of his son.

MUM BETT.

The following anecdote is extracted from a very interesting "*Lecture on the practicability of the abolition of slavery, delivered at the Lyceum in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, February,* 1831." It is understood to have been written by a son (now deceased) of Judge Sedgwick,—

the judge who had the honor of judicially pronouncing the doom of slavery in Massachusetts under its *Bill of Rights*.

"Elizabeth Freeman (known afterwards by the name of Mum Bett) was born a slave, and lived in that condition thirty or forty years. She first lived in Claverac, Columbia county, in the state of New-York, in the family of a Mr. Hogeboom. She was purchased at an early age by Col. Ashley, of Sheffield in the county of Berkshire, in the now commonwealth of Massachusetts. * * *

"While Mum Bett resided in the family of Col. Ashley, she received a severe wound in a generous attempt to shield her sister. Her mistress, in a fit of passion, resorted to a degree and mode of violence very uncommon in this country: she struck at the weak and timid girl with a heated kitchen shovel: Mum Bett interposed her arm, and received the blow; and she bore the honorable scar it left to the day of her death. The spirit of Mum Bett had not been broken down by ill usage—she resented the insult and outrage as a white person would have done. She left the house, and neither commands nor entreaties could induce her to return. Her master, Col. Ashley, resorted to the law to regain possession of his slave. This was shortly after the adoption of the constitution of Massachusetts. The case was tried at Great Barrington. Mum Bett was declared FREE; it being, I believe, the first instance (or among the first instances) of the practical application of the declaration in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, that 'all men are born free and equal.'

"The late Judge Sedgwick had the principal agency in her deliverance. She attached herself to his family as a servant. In that situation she remained for many years, and was never entirely disconnected from his family. * * *

"The house of Mr. Sedgwick, in this town, (Stockbridge,) was attacked by a body of insurgents during the Shay's war, so well remembered in this vicinity. Mr. Sedgwick was then absent at Boston, and Mum Bett was the only guardian of the house. She assured the party that Mr. Sedgwick was absent, but suffered them to search the house to find him, which they did, by feeling under the beds and in other places of concealment, with the points of their bayonets. She did not attempt to resist by direct force, the rifling of property, which was one of the objects of the insurgents. She, however, assumed a degree of authority—told the plunderers that they 'dare not strike a woman,'—and attended them in their exploring the house, to prevent wanton destruction. She escorted them into the cellar with a large kitchen shovel in her hand, which she intimated that she would use as a weapon in case of necessity. One of the party broke off the neck of a bottle of porter. She told him that if he or his companions desired to drink porter, she would fetch a corkscrew, and draw the cork, and they might drink like gentlemen; but that, if the neck of another bottle should be broken, she would lay the man, that broke it, flat with her shovel. Upon tasting the liquor, the party decided that 'if gentlemen loved such cursed bitter stuff, they might keep it.' * *

"This woman, by her extreme industry and economy, supported a large family of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. * *

"Having known her as familiarly as I knew either of my parents, I *cannot* believe in the moral or physical inferiority of the race to which she belonged." * * * *

GRANDFATHER SOL.

One of those benevolent ladies who have so nobly devoted themselves to the cause of human rights, in instructing the colored people of Cincinnati, has forwarded us the substance of a conversation with a remarkable personage of that city, who goes by no other name than that of "Grandfather Sol." He was stolen from Africa, and has passed through the horrors of American slavery. He is now blind and bowed down under the weight, as is supposed, of a hundred years of toil. Our correspondent says, "These are a few of the things he has told me and others. As we have to get somebody to interpret most that he says, his tale of woe is robbed of its simplest, most interesting garb. Though he is old and feeble, robbed of most of his strength by slavery, still his mental faculties retain their vigor astonishingly."

Reader, as we have often remarked before, if we would understand slavery, we *must hear both sides.* We have listened respectfully and frequently to the tale of the master, why not listen to that of the slave? Is truth to be found only on the side where there is the strongest motive to deceive?

CONVERSATION WITH AN OLD BLIND EMANCIPATED SLAVE, CALLED GRANDFATHER SOL.—Where was you born? In Guinea, where people don't know any thing about books. Who did you live with? With my father and mother until I got to be a young man, when I went out to wash my fish trap in a pond one day, and three white men came up to me, and told me to go along with them, and they would give me some knives and pretty things. I was afraid to go with them and cried like a dog, for I knew they did not want any thing good. They took me on board a ship, where there was one hundred men, and two hundred women. We were ironed together, two and two, and put down in the bottom of the ship. All the way I felt bad in my heart; I wanted to see my father and mother very bad. Nobody can tell any thing how black people feel when they are stolen from father and mother, and chained and carried way off on the ocean, they don't know where. We at last landed at Richmond, Virginia, and they began immediately to sell us. I was sold right off to Mr. W——. What did he give for you? I don't know; I could not tell scarcely a word that was said to me, and that made me feel lonely and bad enough. The overseer whip't me right off, to let me know what the whip meant. I found this was badder country, worse than Guinea. Did you have to work very hard? *Work, all work*—all day long, all night long often, and all Sunday long,—took little naps now and then. I knew something about God in Guinea, but with this

master I heard nothing of God or my soul. I lived with this man I should think several years, then he gave me to his daughter when she was married. There I found another bad master, no peace or rest to poor me. When he had been away and got back, he used to whip all his slaves, to let them know that he had got home, and to make them afraid of him. He whip't one slave to death, because he got religion. I was a new hand, and would fight the overseer. So master had my hands tied together, and me hung up in the barn, and whip't one hundred lashes with a hickory switch. It cut raw gashes every blow, and before it would get well, it was cut over again,—back never well whilst I lived with Mr. W——. I suppose you had enough to eat didn't you? No; hungry all day long—sometimes went aways to the neighbors at night, and they would give me a hoe-cake. How long did you stay there? I can't tell exactly, but I should think eight or nine years.—*Hungry all that time.* Sometimes I went into the woods to cry. I had no friends.—Slaves can't be friends to one another; you fraid for friend, and friend fraid for you. I have found out since that God was my friend, but I did not know it then. I was sold again, and got quite a good master. Christian man—he whip't me only two or three times. He called all his slaves from the tobacco-field to go to prayers. He used to sing,

"That awful day will surely come,
The appointed hour makes haste,
When I must stand before my judge,
And pass the solemn test."

All the Baptists round there used to come to his house to meeting. I went one time to laugh at the minister; but he said to all sinners, if you do not repent you will go to hell. When I heard that, I felt condemned before God, and felt that I was a sinner. I prayed all the time—slept mighty little—often would lie down by hoe in the field, and would stay there all night—pray most all the time, fraid if I went to sleep the devil would have me. Nobody would tell me how to come to Christ, for fear that I would learn experience by hearing others, and tell I had religion before I knew any thing about it. They said you must get it all from God. I was sick one day, and laid down—word came to me, *get up.* I did, and felt happy. I run to tell master what God had done for my soul, but I could hardly walk for happiness. I cried for happiness—tried to find my sins again, but could not. I joined the church, and was so happy I hardly wanted to eat. It seemed like as I had wings;—I worked a great deal better. In a little while I was sold again to a master worse than all. Nobody so bad as Mr. S——. One day I found a bridle in the woods, sold it to a woman, and I got one hundred lashes. He put one woman into the fire and burnt her up—said she should go to hell with him. He would not give his black people scarcely any thing to eat. We had no meat—wanted it bad enough. One man would have it, so he would kill a hog now and then, and hide it in a hollow tree. When he was whip't for stealing, he would turn and whip master! Was you good to work? Yes; when I took hold of hoe, dirt must come. Master S—— would not let me have time to drink—sometimes whip you when drinking. He marked his women-slaves by giving one a black dress, an-

other a red one, another white, so that he could tell them a great way off, and whip those that did not work well. He killed many men-slaves; some fell down dead in the field. How did he kill them? "*He broke their hearts.*" He was afraid I would run away, so he fastened a fifty-six to my leg. It had a long chain; when I had gone the length of it, I drawed it to me. It is of no use to talk about him, he is dead long ago. Where do you think he has gone? Behind hell fire. I don't think hell is bad enough for him. I believe mighty few white people will go to heaven. Was you ever married? Yes, I have had three wives. My first wife was sold off ten miles, and master no let me go so far as that. I felt bad, very bad to part with her; I loved that wife, and *my heart is with her yet.*

You white people need not blame black people for having so many wives; it be white people's fault. They sell your wives away from you. Where was you in the time of the war with England? I was in it. I knew General Washington; he good man. I believe he has gone to heaven. Did you fight? No; I waited on General Walla e. I tell you what, if war ever come again, it will be a worser war. I want war to come to set my 'lations free. I want no more slavery, but every body work for themselves. That will be right; then it will be warmer weather. God make it so cold because white people do black people so bad.

[Is this sentiment to be wondered at? Yet it was not taught this old man by the abolitionists!—Ed.]

How did you get free? A good man that lives somewhere about here brought me from Lexington. He said I was too old to work. Master gave me to him. After a while his brother-in-law came after me—wanted I should work more. But people would not let me go—laughed at him—he was ashamed, and went off. Where did you leave your wife and children? All in slavery. I want to see them mighty bad. But you are blind, grandfather Sol, and can't see! Well, I should know their voices, and they would sound sweet, and I could take hold of their hands besides. I wish my children was free, I would have them learn trades; one a blacksmith, another a tailor, &c. &c. I pray for them every day, that God would make them good, and make their masters' hearts *soft.* God hear my prayer. I love the good people that are trying to get the slaves free. You think, missee, that they will ever get the slaves free in old Kentuck? I think they will, grandfather.—I don't know, they hold 'em mighty tight. In old Virginia white people say you set niggers free, they'll starve and wont work. You believe that is true? No, masters and all the white people starve more like, for now slaves take care of themselves and white people too. If they will set 'em free, I think they would work well, and get farms, and make good crops. Did you ever want to read the Bible? Yes, me want to know very much what God say to me a poor sinner, but who would read it me? If I learn to read, master think I'd be free directly. What makes you so crooked? (he is very crooked.) Hoe,—when I was a slave and worked in the field, I was 'fraid to stand up and rest—kept bent all the time so my head would not be above the rest. When you see, missee, old slaves all bent over, you may know

what made them so. What makes your toes look so? (they are some of them part gone.) When master got mad at me, he take my shoes and make me go barefooted—froze my feet. What makes your ear look so? (that is part gone.) Master cut off the rim of it. What for? Nothing at all. He said I stole some buttermilk, but I didn't do it. Did you ever steal? I have took things without leave. If you don't steal you starve. It is not stealing to take from masters; you pay for it a hundred times—is not that enough? I'll tell you what, I'll say you are my mistress; you set in the house, and master too; I go out into the field in the hot sun, raise crops—now you call it all yours, but is not part of it mine? Did you ever run away? Yes, a great many times; but always got ketched, and then cut almost to pieces. I run away once and went off in the woods and staid long, long time. I dug a hole in the ground, left a little place to crawl in at, and staid there day times, and in the night I would go to some black people's houses and get something to eat. Sometimes most starved. Could not go further;—if I went back, I knew I should be almost killed, and then I was a poor starving Guinea nigger slave. I got caught, and always expected to be; but would run away to rest, for almost dead with hard work. How did you feel to see slave-holders partake the sacrament? I tell you what, I went to a woods meeting once where there was a great many white people going to partake the sacrament. I was going away, but something said to me, Sol, Sol, you tell them they eat and drink damnation to their souls. I 'fraid to say that; but it come again, and I thought God told me, and I was afraid to disobey. So I went up to the head of the table, and cried, Behold, you fine ladies and gentlemen, you eat and drink damnation to your souls. When I had said that, some of my friends seized me and carried me off into the woods, fear I would be killed. Do you know how old you are? I suppose I am about one hundred. I should think I was a thousand, for I have been in so many different places. I want to go home to heaven mighty bad. I am waiting, hoping, praying God will call Sol every day. I want to leave this wretched world, and go where all is light, and love, and peace. When we get to heaven, all will be of one mind and heart. My soul will be as white as yours. If poor nigger only come to Jesus, he make his soul as white as snow. I push on my journey; God is here now, and is all the company I have. He and I have meetings together; I feel as if I am marching to Jerusalem. Christians are like hunting dogs, always hunting for Jesus. If I lose him, I hunt till I find him. I see by an eye of faith into heaven now and then, and see Jesus there. The scars in his hands and side are not healed yet. It makes me weep to see them sometimes. I hope God in heaven hear such a poor dry boned Guinea nigger as I. Sometimes I sing, and sometimes I pray.

"Hark from the tombs a doleful sound,
My ears attend the cry;
Ye living men come view the ground,
Where you must shortly lie."

[He says this is his favorite hymn.] If God had been like my thoughts, I should been home long ago. Can't hardly tell what I live for, but must wait till God calls me.

ANECDOTES OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS IN CINCINNATI.

We are gratified to learn from the same lady who has furnished us the foregoing conversation, that the interest of the colored people in their schools, continues unabated. Indeed, since Mr. Birney has commenced his labors in Cincinnati, the colored people have been stimulated to greatly increased efforts to obtain education, and they have done more to sustain the schools in a few weeks, than in a year previously.

The following anecdotes strikingly illustrate their thirst for knowledge, and the benefit they derive from it. From such minds it is that slavery seals the book of God! Who shall fathom the folly or guage the guilt of this nation!

A SLAVE'S THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE.

Some time since a colored man visited one of our schools. After listening for a while to the reading and spelling of the scholars, he was asked to make some remarks; he said, "Children, when I was a little boy I was a slave. I had no such privileges as you have. I wanted to learn, but my master was not willing. One day his little son came home from school saying his lesson; I was perfectly charmed with it. Got him to go into the field one Sunday with me, and that day I learned all my alphabet. When my master found out I was learning to read so, I had to stop, and learned no more for several years, when one of his daughters, on whom I waited, learned me to spell. I can now read and write. I will tell you, children, how I learned to write. I would pick up pieces of paper that had writing on them, and copy them. I never had a copy set me. O, children, it seems to me if I had your chance when I was young, I should have read through every book in the world."

THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

In one of our Sabbath schools there is a class of aged mothers, who come with their spectacles on to learn how to read. A few Sabbaths ago, our Sunday School lesson was about the "good Samaritan." One of them was asked what she thought about the Priest and Levite, she remarked, they did just as I have done a great many times; but I never shall do so any more. "This lesson has made my heart a heap softer; it has made a soft spot that never was made there before." On the next Sabbath we found she truly had followed Christ's direction; had literally gone and done likewise. She remarked to her teacher, God has been trying me this week, to see if I would do any better for going to Sabbath School. There came to my house a poor woman with a sick child, she had been turned out of doors several times. I took her in—sat up with her child three nights, and it died on my lap. She offered to pay me, but I would not take it, for I found it good to do good. Now I never should have done this if it had not been for that Sabbath-School lesson."

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

Those whose desire it is to shut out from society as much as possible all humane and softening influences, those who are grieved to lose the despotic sway of the lazy savage or of the licentious Turk, may well hate Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies. But why should enlightened Christians, who profess to admire the peculiar benevolence of the female character, and to invoke its aid in purifying, elevating, and saving the world, hate them? Where in the universe should woman intercede, with those prayers and tears of hers, which all but brutes respect, if not between the proud, avaricious, cruel American slave-masters, and their trembling, broken-hearted slaves?

We set an equal value on the *manhood* and the *abolitionism* of the man who rails at Female Anti-Slavery Societies. We rejoice in the rapid multiplication of these interesting and efficient institutions. It would be invidious to single out any for peculiar praise, but we cannot refrain from saying how much our hearts are cheered by the intelligence of the last few days. An agent writes, that he has just attended the meeting of a *Ladies' County Anti-Slavery Society*, in Ashtabula county, Ohio. A large number of ladies were present; one hundred and fifty-one new members were added, making the whole two hundred and twenty-four. They employed a well qualified agent to traverse the county, and form a ladies' society in each town. Four or five such societies have been already organized by their agent. Another county society on the same plan, has just been formed by a meeting of ladies at Ravenna, Portage county, Ohio. Let the work go on. Is this organization of ladies extraordinary, and out of the range of domestic life? So is the cause.—So IS THE CAUSE. Think for a moment how many homes are desolate by slavery.

But nothing has given us higher pleasure than a pamphlet of one hundred and eight pages, entitled "RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON," the report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Instead of speaking of it, we will give it the room to speak for itself. It thus describes its own annual meeting, which was broken up by "gentlemen of property and standing."

"The President called the meeting to order, and read some appropriate passages of scripture. 'Training's begun! Hurra! here comes Judge Lynch!' shouted the rioters, and the words were passed down the stairs to the crowd in the street. We knelt and united with the President in prayer. During the few moments so employed, we felt as did Schiller on his death-bed: 'Many things now are clear.' Our souls were strengthened and borne above the violence and insult with

which we were surrounded. Our hopes, our faith, our fortitude, were increased. We felt grateful that we were accounted worthy thus to express our devotion to TRUTH. We rejoiced that it was our privilege to live in times calling for the exercise of the noblest power with which God has endowed his creatures; the power to suffer for his righteousness' sake. It was given us to comprehend the minds held forth as examples by the fervent apostles;—even 'women, not accepting deliverance, that they might receive a better resurrection.' We saw the very process by which out of the mouth of the weak, 'God ordains strength, to still the enemy and the avenger.' Our prayer was for those in bonds, as bound with them. Our thanksgiving, that though there were many to molest, there were none that could make us afraid. There was a composure imparted to us, which, for a time, extended to the multitude, by the untremulous voice, which rose clear and calm above the tumult. But we prayed for our friends and brethren in a neighboring state, whom that hour had gathered together, perhaps to die; for the success of the common cause; for all throughout the earth who had laid fortune, fame, or life upon its altar. Here the clamor increased, so that nothing further could be heard. The slight partition began to yield. The mob hurled missiles at the lady presiding. The secretary rose and began to read her report, utterly inaudible from the confusion. At this moment Mr. Lyman entered.

"We record no 'imaginary conversation.' The following is, word for word, what passed between him, the President, and other ladies.

Mr. Lyman. Go home, ladies, go home.

President. What renders it necessary we should go home?

Mr. Lyman. I am the mayor of the city, and I cannot now explain; but will call upon you this evening.

President. If the ladies will be seated, we will take the sense of the meeting.

Mr. Lyman. Don't stop, ladies; go home.

President. Will the ladies listen to a letter addressed to the Society, by Francis Jackson, Esq.

Mr. Lyman. Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of bloodshed and confusion? If you do not, go home.

One of the Ladies. Mr. Lyman, your personal friends are the instigators of this mob; have you ever used your personal influence with them?

Mr. Lyman. I know no personal friends; I am merely an official. Indeed, ladies, you must retire. It is dangerous to remain.

Lady. If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as any where.

Mr. Lyman. Do you wish to prolong this scene of confusion?

President. Can we pass out safely?

Mr. Lyman. If you will go *now*, I will protect you, but cannot unless you do.

"A motion was then made to adjourn, which was carried. We passed down the staircase, amid the manifestations of a revengeful brutality. If the worst enemies of *some* we saw, had told us that such unmanly and shameful ideas as they openly expressed, lurked in the most hidden recesses of their minds, we should have disbelieved it.

The way was darkened by the crowd that blocked up the windows, so that we could but just discern faces; *but there was no mistake.* We could identify *those faces,* even if we had never seen them before. When we emerged into the open daylight, there went up a roar of rage and contempt, which increased when they saw that we did not intend to separate, but walked in regular procession. They slowly gave way as we came out. As far as we could look either way the crowd extended—evidently of the so-called 'wealthy and respectable;' 'the moral worth,' the 'influence and standing.' We saw the faces of those we had, till now, thought friends;—men whom we never before met without giving the hand in friendly salutation;—men whom till now we should have called upon for condemnation of ruffianism, with confidence that the appeal would be answered; men who have repeatedly said they were 'as much anti-slavery as we were,' that 'our principles were righteous,' and they only objected to the rashness of upholding them. Yet they did not, 'like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side;' but waited with looks of satisfaction and approval to see the result."

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from February 15th, to March 15th, 1836.

Moultonboro, N. H.,	Rev. J. Dodge,	3 00
Chester, Vt.,	Jesse Stedman,	5 00
Hebronville, Mass.,	A. S. S., per C. Simmons,	8 00
Middleborough, "	H. G. Wood,	3 00
South Hadley, "	Eli Stearns,	5 00
Chaplin, Conn.,	J. C. Martin,	75
Middletown, "	Edwin Hunt,	7 76
Albany, N. Y.,	S. J. Pennyman, pr J. Leavitt,	50 00
" "	Miss C. Pennyman, "	10 00
Amsterdam, N. Y.,	P. Stewart,	1 00
Canandaigua, "	A Friend,	4 00
Hudson, "	S. Plumb, by C. Marriott,	5 00
" "	H. W. Bessac, "	2 00
" "	C. Marriott,	5 00
" "	Cash,	1 00
" "	Maria Marriott,	3 00
" "	L. Marriott,	4 00
" "	Cash,	50
" "	"	50
" "	H. D. Skinner,	1 00
" "	Adam Van De Boe,	1 00
" "	Cash,	50
" "	"	50
" "	" 25, 25,	50
" "	"	50
" "	George Robinson,	1 00
" "	Silas Stone,	1 00
Oswego co., "	A. S. S. on account of $200 pledge, by S. Clark,	25 00
Schenectady, "	Elisha Taylor,	5 00
Walton, "	A. P. St. John,	5 00
Wales, N. Y.,	D. Needham, per H. Lyman,	2 00
"	Friends, "	2 67
New-York City,	Thomas Garner, Jr.,	100 00
"	Arthur Tappan,	250 00
"	John Rankin,	100 00
"	T. L. Jennings, on account of $200 pledge,	25 00
"	Rev. E. Wheeler,	1 00
"	P. Shapter,	5 00
"	George H. White,	10 00
"	Rev. George Bourne,	5 00
"	Enclosed with the following note to the A. A. S. S.—	
	"The master's portion, to assist in delivering our Republic from slavery."	50 00
Boonton Falls, N. J.,	A. S. S. per D. Grimes,	10 00
Newark, "	A. N. Dougherty,	100 00
"	N. J., Ellison Conger, per R. G. W.,	75 00
Springfield, N. J.,	A few Friends,	100 00
Montrose, Pa.,	Dorcas Soc. by M. A. Lyon,	5 50
Pittsburg, "	Ladies' A. S. S., by Mrs. R. W. Lambdin,	25 00
York, "	A. S. S., per J. Coffin,	3 00
Anstinburg, O.	Monthly Concert, by L. Bissell,	5 00
Cincinnati, "	A. S. S. per Wm. Donaldson,	95 00
Geneva, "	A. S. S. per L. Bissell,	3 00
New Garden, O.,	B. B. Davis,	10 00
Windham, "	Rev. Wm. Hanford,	2 12
Allegan, Mich.,	A. L. Ely,	5 00
		$1148 80

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8, Cedar St.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from February 1st, to March 1st, 1836.

Alton, Ill.,	W. A. Whitney,	10 00
Auburn, N. Y.,	by H. Chapin,	11 25
Cazenovia, N. Y.,	by P. Kellogg,	4 00
Dutton, Conn.,	by W. Whitney,	1 50
Dunbarton, N. H.,	by G. Kent, Esq	9 00
Marcellus, N. Y.,	by A. Rockwell,	2 25
New Garden, O.,	by W. Griffeth,	10 00
Oneida Institute, N. Y.,	by W. J. Savage,	10 00
Putnam, O.,	by H. C. Howell,	10 00
Springfield, N. J.,	J. White,	1 50
Received for Emancipator,		125 50
"	Human Rights,	46 38
"	Quarterly Magazine,	26 00
"	A. S. Record,	28 88
"	Books, Pamphlets, &c.,	186 97
		$483 23

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.

Total Receipts, $1632 03

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. V. MAY, 1836. WHOLE No. 17.

A SLAVE CAUGHT WITHOUT A PASS.

THE slaves in America enjoy to perfection that pleasant system of regulations, which the potentates of the old world devised for the comfort of people passing from one kingdom to another. In Europe, ever and anon, some whiskered and ferocious looking mercenary presents his musket, and demands the traveller's *pass;* in America, if a husband, after the toils of the day, would visit his wife and children on another plantation, he is stopped by any white person who pleases, till he can show his *pass.* The husband that suffers this, to be sure, is a *slave*—the legal *property* of his master. But how is the system any the more just for that? This interdiction of locomotion makes it necessary to subject the slave not only to the master, but to every other white person. Witness the following law of South Carolina, passed as long ago as 1740: "If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually

employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white person*, it shall be lawful for any such white person to pursue, apprehend, and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may *be lawfully killed!*" 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231. Whether such a barbarous law exists in Tennessee we have not the means of ascertaining, but suppose so from the following statement of Dr. Nelson, in his late "Letter to the Presbyterians of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri." Dr. Nelson, being himself a Tennessean, must at any rate have full credit for his facts. He says:

"Another train of facts with which you are acquainted: you know the following case to be an uncolored picture, in sections where slaves are numerous. I saw the man who managed as overseer for one of your wealthy citizens, who was famed for his hospitality, good company, &c. The salary of the overseer was enough to enable him to purchase a slave of his own annually, which he worked with those of his employer. I heard the way Christians by profession spake of this man. I saw the way they received him. The language and the meaning of it are both familiar to you. They said, 'Mr. ——— is a *good manager*. He gives his servants plenty to eat, and good warm clothing; but he makes them *know their places*. He does not starve them, but he will have them to obey.' I will remind you of the way he secured this commendation. *The whip he carried had a short handle, but a lash several yards long.* It was said that he could use this with so much skill, as to stand at a distance and lay open the skin as though it had been done with a knife. Those he walked after in the field knew not to even seemingly loiter, from the rising of the sun until it set. They then knew not to leave their quarters for the night. If the servants of others in the neighborhood, after working hard all day, felt a wish to visit and enjoy the society of some to whom they were attached, this being the only earthly pleasure which they could ever reach, the overseer at dusk mounted his horse, and with gilt spurs and polished gloves rode the land, and when he met a man with skin not colored like his own, he stopped and demanded his pass. If this was not produced, whatever pleas of excuse were urged, mingled with entreaties for pardon and permission to go unpunished, this 'good manager,' for his amusement and for the diversion of his companions, during these entreaties would pretend extreme *deafness*, and make the suppliant speak at the top of his voice, asking a long list of questions, and holding his ear close to the mocked one, make him scream his answers. *Then taking his position at the proper distance for the fair sweep of his whip, he would command the sad hearted one to dance. He would make him do it, and whilst he was dancing, would inflict his skilful blows.* Then he would approach, act the deaf man, and renew the conversation; alternating this amusement until satisfied, and then go to seek another feast."

Query. Which is the most "incendiary;" this picture by Dr. Nelson, or that by our engraver at the head of the article?

Again. Which has the strongest tendency *to excite insurrection;* the conduct of the "*good manager*," or Dr. Nelson's and ours in making pictures of his?

[From the Oasis.]

BY MRS. CHILD.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE STRENGTH OF PREJUDICE.

THE following account is a literal matter of fact. The names of persons and places are concealed by the editor, because she wishes to excite no angry feelings in attempting to show how many discouragements are thrown in the way of colored people who really desire to be respectable. The letters are copied from the originals, with merely a few alterations in the orthography of the last.

Mr. James E—— was a respectable colored man, residing in Massachusetts, in a certain town not far from Boston. He had been early impressed with the importance of religious subjects, and at twenty-six years of age made a public profession of his faith. He had a large family, and when they were all old enough to attend church, it was found difficult to accommodate them on the seats their parents had usually occupied. Mr. E—— was desirous of purchasing a pew which stood as it were by itself, being surrounded by the aisle and the stair-case. Some difficulty occurred because a widow had a right to one third; but this was finally arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. Mr. E.'s eldest son paid the purchase money, and received a deed of the pew. As soon as this became known, a member of the church called upon Mr. E., and exhorted him not to injure the sale of the pew by occupying it. Mr. E. answered, that it had been bought for the accommodation of his family, and they had no wish to sell it. The church brother answered, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

Private meetings were immediately held, which resulted in summoning Mr. E. to appear before the church, to give an account of his proceedings. Here he was accused of a wilful and flagrant outrage upon the church and upon the society. In reply he called their attention to the covenant by which each church member was bound to share the burdens of the church, and promised full enjoyment of all its privileges. He thought this gave any member a right to own a pew, provided he could honestly pay for one. As a citizen of a free country, he conceived that he had a right to purchase a pew; nor could he find anything in the whole tenor of the Bible opposed to it.

When requested to declare the price his son had paid for the pew, he declined answering. A committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned.

This committee called on Mr. E. to "labor with him," as they termed it. The Elder attempted to justify their proceedings by talking of a

gradation in creation, from the highest seraph to the meanest insect. To support this doctrine, he quoted from the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.

"There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.

"There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory."

The Elder said this difference of flesh was visible among people of different features and complexions. In answer to these remarks, Mr. E. reminded him that, in the verses he had quoted, the Apostle expressly says, "There is one kind of flesh of men;" the difference alluded to was between the flesh of men and the flesh of beasts. He added that God had distinctly declared, "He made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth."

The committee easily perceived that the Elder's scriptural arguments were feeble. They said a good deal about the advantages of peace and harmony in the church, and earnestly desired that the pew might be given up. One gentleman declared that it was his opinion that Mr. E. had as good a right to own a pew as any other individual in the community; but if he would of his own free will relinquish the possession of it, for the sake of peace, it would be a very acceptable service. If all had spoken with equal mildness and candor, the affair would probably have been easily settled; but bitter and contemptuous words are not the best means of persuading a man to relinquish his own rights, for the convenience or pleasure of others.

The Elder declared that he had exerted his utmost influence to restore order and tranquillity. When asked if he had tried to induce the son to give up his claim to the pew he had purchased, he answered "No; if I cannot persuade professors of religion to do right, I cannot expect to gain any thing with world's people; and I will do nothing about it."

Another meeting was soon after held; Mr. E. and his son attended, and, for the first time, took their seats in the pew. The same arguments were made use of, concerning a gradation in creation from things superior to things most inferior; and these arguments were met by similar replies. The question was put to vote, whether Mr. E. should be allowed to sit in the pew; and it was unanimously decided that the church were unwilling to allow them that privilege. A larger committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned.

On the next Sabbath, Mr. E. and his son took their seats in the pew. In the afternoon, the Elder took his text from the eleventh chapter of Ecclesiastes: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." During his discourse, the speaker was very much excited.

The next Sunday the pew was found covered with tar, and a part of the seats torn down.

On the third Sunday, a cord was observed suspended from the gallery; on examination, it was found that a jug of filthy water was tied to it, and so arranged as to empty itself upon whoever touched the line in entering the pew. The remainder of the seats and the walls were soon after torn down, and thrown into an adjoining pasture. A temporary seat answered the purposes of the family for awhile; but in a short time this was demolished, and the platform itself torn up, leaving a hole about two feet square.

The son of Mr. E. related these facts to the editor, and added very dryly: "When the cold weather came on, this proved a serious inconvenience to the whole congregation; but they bore it for some time, with Christian fortitude." Another church meeting was called, and an attempt made to prove that Mr. E. had been guilty of dissimulation in his manner of obtaining the pew. It was stated that he had induced the widow to sell her share, by telling her he had already given her son-in-law security for the price, and that the deed was made out. In reply, Mr. E. urged that he had told the widow the bargain was all completed, and waited only for her consent; and when she asked if he had paid for it, he answered he had given his word for the money, which was as good security as his bond. He wished to prove this statement by witness, but the church declined to admit his evidence. A lawyer, who was present, said if any man passed his word before witnesses, it was good for one year; and therefore, he conceived that Mr. E. had made himself responsible for the payment of the pew, to all intents and purposes. The majority were, however, decidedly in favor of withdrawing the right hand of fellowship from their colored brother, on the ground that he had practised deceit in saying he had given security for the purchase. He was accordingly excommunicated. The Church denied any co-operation in the destruction of the pew. Mr. E. told them he knew nothing about that, but he thought they had in their proceedings manifested a similar spirit. Since they were unwilling to listen to the evidence he could bring, he asked to have the question of dissimulation fairly tried before impartial referees. But the Elder said that was unnecessary; and he closed by reminding the culprit that he would have avoided the punishment, if he had but followed his direction in the beginning. Yet had he done as was required of him, the charge of deceit in the purchase of the pew must have had precisely the same degree of truth it had under other circumstances.

Mr. E. laid the case before ex-parte counsel, was acquitted of the charge brought against him, and received a recommendation to other churches. The family no longer attended at the meeting-house where their property had been so wantonly destroyed. After some time, Mrs. E. received the following letter:

"Mrs. S—— E——:

"The church of which you have been a member, have to regret that they are compelled to say to you, that in their opinion, your reasons for being so long time absent from the communion are not sufficient to justify you; and according to our covenant obligations, we must withdraw from you the hand of fellowship, and consider you no

longer as a member of the church. We hope you will consider the solemn covenant obligations you once took upon yourself, and return to your heavenly Father, and to the church, who would gladly again restore you to your former privilege in the church.

"By order and in behalf of the —— church in S——.

"J—— T——, Clerk."

Mrs. E. replied as follows:

"To the —— church in S——:

"I received your committee with marked respect, and agreeable to request gave my mind on the subject of my former connexion with you. After you had bound yourself by a covenant obligation, in the presence of God, angels, and men, that we should mutually enjoy all the privileges of the church, you brought a groundless allegation against my husband, of dissimulation in attempting to purchase a pew. Elder ——, who was at that time our minister, under the influence of a blind, infatuated zeal, used all his influence against the right cause. Instead of being as "wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove," he was as venomous as a serpent, to the everlasting shame and disgrace of his profession. He, with a few others, urged my husband to give up the pew my son had bought, upon the plea that it was not customary for colored people to have a pew on the floor of the meeting-house. They said the difficulty would all be settled if he would give it up; and finding they could not obtain this, they called a church-meeting, and set him aside.

"I have ever been dissatisfied with the treatment my husband received. It seemed to me unreasonable, unchristian, dishonest, and hypocritical—contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, and to our Saviour's golden rule, 'Do ye unto others whatsoever ye would that they should do unto you.' I ask, what man among you would like to be turned out of the church merely because his son bought a pew? Who cannot see that the real difficulty was on account of a black man's owning a pew, and that the charge of dissimulation was forged out?

"As it respects features and shades of complexion, God has said that 'He made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.' He declares that 'He is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.' What right, then, has one part of creation to usurp dominion over the other part, merely because they are a little whiter? (and not much, neither.) The Bill of Rights declares that all men are born equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nothing is said concerning color, whether it be white, red, black, or yellow.

"If a citizen buy a pew in a house dedicated to God, what right have Christians and sinners, with the Elder at their head, to join together in lording it over God's heritage, and declare by vote that they are not willing people should enjoy their property, in this land of gospel light and liberty? Does this seem like 'setting together in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus?' Is this letting love be without dissimulation? Be assured, the only way to be accepted with God is to

keep his commandments; and he requires us to love him supremely, and our neighbor as ourselves.

"By the grace of God, I am determined to walk worthy of the vocation whereunto I have been called. I am far advanced in life, and the time of my departure is at hand. It is a consolation to me that I have no personal animosity against your church. I ever cherish a spirit of forgiveness; but I cannot remain in fellowship with any church or people, who make a distinction on account of complexion."

For the A. S. Record.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

MANY of our young readers have heard of Phillis Wheatley, the African slave, who wrote poems, and published a book. She was only seven or eight years old, when the men-stealers took her from her friends and playmates, and confined her in a slave ship. The vessel which brought her to America was owned by Colonel Fitch, a rich man, who traded in slaves, and lived in the city of Boston. Phillis had not been long here before she was sold to Mr. John Wheatley, and from him she took her surname. She soon learned to read, for in those days slaves were taught to read, and were instructed in the Bible. She also learned how to write, and after a while began to write verses. Some of these were seen by the family, who showed them to several of the ministers and schoolmasters in Boston, and they were greatly surprised and pleased in finding a poor slave able to write so well. At length she wrote a number of poems, and some of them were printed. It was thought to be a great wonder that a colored person, and one born in Africa, should be able to write poetry in the English language. Some of the friends of Phillis thought she had better go to England, where she would receive many presents, which would assist her to acquire further knowledge, and enable her to print her poems in a book.

Accordingly, she sailed for England, and when she arrived there, she was treated with much kindness. The people were much pleased to see her, for they had heard about her being a poet before her arrival. The Countess of Huntingdon, a good and kind lady, was her warm friend, and invited Phillis to stay with her some time, and took her to her chapel, where Mr. Whitefield had so often preached. She had her poems published in London in 1773.

After she returned to Boston, she went to see her old master's family, for they had treated her kindly. Col. Fitch had a large house, and lived in much splendor. He had white servants and colored servants. He had a large family of daughters, and they thought much of their father's wealth and station. Mrs. Fitch was a very kind woman, and invited Phillis to spend the afternoon with her. The daughters, though they were glad to see her, could not imagine how she would be disposed of at *tea time;* for like many persons at the present day, they could not bear the idea of sitting down at table with a colored person, even though she had sat at table with a countess. They were there-

fore very anxious to learn of their mother, *what she should do with Phillis at tea time.* Mrs. Fitch told them at once that she was to be seated with them. They pouted a little, but submitted to their mother's directions.

When tea was brought in, Phillis took her seat with the fair daughters of Col. Fitch. She soon began to give an account of her visits at various places in England, and describe the persons and things she had seen. She had seen King George III. and his queen, and told them how Queen Charlotte was dressed. She told them of St. Paul's Cathedral, one of the largest churches in the world; of Westminster Abbey, and of London Bridge, with its numerous arches. She told them much about the Countess of Huntingdon, and of her charity to the poor—that she was kind alike to all, and that she had often been to her chapel, and been seated by her side in her pew. In short, as she went on with her pleasant and entertaining stories, the young ladies became delighted with Phillis; they became more and more inquisitive to learn what she had seen, and found that with all their wealth and advantages, she knew more than they did. As she went on with her stories, they forgot she had been a slave; they felt no prejudice against her because she was black, and they felt ashamed they had ever made any objections to her having a seat at the tea-table. F.

THE SLAVE'S PRAYER.

THE more abundant the season, the more joyous the laborer,—provided he be a *free* laborer, but it is not so with the *slave.* With him, the richer the harvest, the harder the labor, while he gets little if any better fare. He and the crop which he reaps belong to the same master, who, whether the latter be much or little, is under no necessity of giving more to the former than will make him a profitable machine. The free laborer, on the other hand, must of necessity share the prosperity of his employer, must be paid and fed according to his labor. He will naturally pray for rain and fruitful seasons, while the poor slave prays for drought, blasting, and mildew!

This subject has been set in a clear light by Miss Harriet Martineau, in a tale of 140 pages, entitled Demerara, published in London, 1832. The presence of the talented authoress in our country, and her interest in behalf of "our countrymen in chains," will excuse us for prefacing our editorial with a brief notice of her interesting little book. The headings of its twelve chapters, no less true than quaint and paradoxical, are as follows:

1. Sunrise brings sorrow in Demerara.
2. Law endangers property in Demerara.
3. Prosperity impoverishes in Demerara.
4. Childhood is wintry in Demerara.

5. No haste to the wedding in Demerara.
6. Man worth less than beast in Demerara.
7. Christianity difficult in Demerara.
8. The proud covet pauperism in Demerara.
9. Calamity welcome in Demerara.
10. Protection is oppression in Demerara.
11. Beasts hunt men in Demerara.
12. No master knows his man in Demerara.

In most of these captions, the name of any one of our slave states might be substituted for Demerara, without at all impairing its truth.

Miss Martineau has vividly and faithfully sketched the workings of the slave system under the characters of Mitchelson, a planter; Horner, his overseer; and his slaves, of whom the most remarkable is named Cassius. The working of abolitionism is illustrated in the character of Alfred, the planter's son, who returns from England full of the "fanaticism" of free labor. We recollect nothing in the book, for it is long since we read it, in which we do not concur, except a mistake about African colonization at its close, into which perhaps the benevolent authoress was led by the deceitful representations that were made by the Colonization Society's agent in England. Here is our extract, and we should not be sorry if it should induce some persons to buy the book and read it.

"Alfred had often wondered, while in England, what Christianity could be like in a slave country. Since he arrived in Demerara, he had heard tidings of the Christian teacher who had resided there for a time, which gave him a sufficiently accurate notion of the nature of his faith, and of that of the planters; but he was still curious to know how the gospel was held by the slaves. He had now an opportunity of learning, for Cassius was at prayer. These were snatches of his prayer:

"'May he sell no sugar, that no woman may die of the heat and hard work, and that her baby may not cry for her. If Christ came to make men free, let him send a blight that the crop may be spoiled; for when our master is poor, we shall be free. O, Lord, make our master poor: make him set under a tree, and see his plantation one great waste. Let him see that his canes are dead, and the wind is coming to blow down his house and his woods; and then he will say to us, "I have no bread for you, and you may go." O, God! pity the women who cannot sleep this night because their sons are to be flogged when the sun rises. O, pity me, because I have worked so long, and shall never be free. Do not say to me, "You shall never be free." Why shouldst thou spare Horner, who never spares us? Let him die in his sleep this night, and then there will be many to sing to thee instead of wailing all the night. We will sing like the birds in the morning, if thou wilt take away our fear this night. If Jesus was here, he would speak kindly to us, and, perhaps, bring a hurricane for our sakes. O, do not help us less because he is with thee instead of

with us! We have waited long, O Lord! we have not killed any one; we have done no harm, because thou hast commanded us to be patient. If we must wait, do thou give us patience; for we are very miserable, and our grief makes us angry. If we may not be angry, be thou angry with one or two, that a great many may be happy.'"

"These words caught Alfred's ear, amidst many which he could not hear. In deep emotion, he was about to beckon his companion, [Mitchelson,] to come and listen too, when he found he was already at his elbow. 'Stand and hear him out,' whispered Alfred. 'You will do him no harm, I am sure. You will not punish a man for his devotions, be their character what it may. Let Cassius be master for once. Let him teach us that which he understands better than we. He seems to have thought more than you or I on what Christ would say to our authority if he were here. I will go in when he rises, and hear more.'

"'For God's sake, do not trust yourself with him. Don't ask him for water, or anything else. I will have nothing,—I am going home this moment.'

"'Then I will follow,' said Alfred, knocking at the door of the hut as soon as he saw that Cassius had risen, and was about to replenish his fire.

"'Cassius, I have overheard some of your prayers,' he said, when he had explained to the astonished slave the cause of his appearance. 'I was glad when you told me that you had been made a Christian, but your prayer is not that of a Christian. Surely this is not the way you were taught to pray?'

"'We were told to pray for the miserable, and to speak to God as our Father, and tell him all that we wish. I know none so miserable as slaves, and therefore I prayed that there might be an end of their misery. I wish nothing so much as that I and all slaves may be free, and so I prayed for it. Is it wrong to pray for this?'

"'No. I pray for the same thing, perhaps, as often as you; but—'

"'Do you? Do you pray the same prayer as we do?' cried the slave, falling at Alfred's feet, and looking up in his face. 'Then let us be your slaves, and we will all pray together.'

"'I wish to have no slaves, Cassius. I would rather you should be my servants, if you worked for me at all. But we could not pray the same prayer while you ask for revenge. How dared you ask that the overseer might die, and that your master might be poor, and see his estate laid waste, when you know Jesus prayed for pardon for his enemies, and commanded us to do them good when we could?'

"'Was it revenge?' asked Cassius. 'I did not mean it for revenge, but I never can understand what prayer would best please God. I would not pray for my master's sorrow and Horner's death, if it would do nobody any good, or even nobody but me; but when I know that there would be joy in a hundred cottages if there was death in the overseer's, may I not pray for the hundred families? and if I know that the more barren the land grows, the more the men will eat, and the women sing, and the children play, and the sooner I myself shall be free, may I not pray that the land may be barren? And as the

land grows barren, my master grows poor. You know the gospel better than I do. Explain this to me.'

"Alfred did his best to make it clear that, while blessings were prayed for, the means should be left to Divine wisdom: but though Cassius acquiesced and promised, it was plain he did not see why he should not take for granted the suitableness of means which appeared to him so obvious. When Alfred heard what provocation he had just received, he only wondered at the moderation of his petitions, and the patience with which he bore reproof. Horner had given him notice, the preceding evening, that as it appeared from his exertions at the mill-dam, that he was of more value than he had always pretended, his ransom should be doubled. In such a case, a prayer for such low prices as would lessen his own value, was the most natural that could burst from the lips of a slave."—pp. 88—92.

FACTS FROM TENNESSEE.

The following facts are from a *citizen* of Tennessee, whose name we withhold for an obvious reason:

The price of slaves was never known to be higher in Tennessee, nor were the people ever more madly bent on continuing the practice of slavery.

A slave woman belonging to F. H. W., Esq., an elder in the B. B. church, became hopefully a Christian, and was admitted to full fellowship in the church some time in February, 1835. In a few days after, the elder sold her to a drover, and she was immediately hurried to New Orleans, and there sold to a planter, to labor night and day, and in all probability never to hear the gospel preached again. It is supposed that the elder could not afford to keep a praying slave on his plantation, lest the services of the day should be curtailed by devotion, and for this reason he sold her, and has bought another, who will not take up so much time in this way.

Col. R., of —— county, was informed that one of his slaves was becoming very religious, and had appointed night prayer meetings among the blacks. The colonel, on hearing of this fact, immediately went to this servant, and told him if he ever heard of any more of these night prayer meetings, *he would tie him up, and give him one hundred lashes on his bare back;* and if he continued the practice, he would double the dose, &c. This put an immediate stop to the poor black's prayers in a public manner. This information was received from an elder in the church mentioned above, who highly applauded the colonel's conduct.

THE SOUTH MORE AFRAID OF WORDS THAN OF WAR.

"Do they [Southerners] expect the abolitionists will resort to arms, will commence a crusade to liberate our slaves by force? Is this what they mean when they speak of the attempt to abolish Slavery? Let me tell our friends of the South who differ from us, that the war which the abolitionists wage against us is of a very different character and far more effective,—it is waged not against our lives but our character."

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from March 15th to April 15th, 1836.		
Kennebunk, Me., a lady,		$5 00
" " Dr. B. Smart,		4 13
Andover, Mass., A. S. Society, per J. Derby,		20 00
" " John Smith,		30 00
Boston, " J. S. Withington,		50 00
" " Salem st. church, A. S. Society, per N. Budd,		100 00
" " Bowdoin st. church, A. S. Society, per J. S. Kimball,		50 00
" " Essex st. church, A. S. Society, per W. Sears, balance of $50 pledge,		15 00
" " Colored Methodist A. S. Society, D. Henson,		50 00
" " Mrs. Chapman,		50 00
" " J. E. Fuller,		50 00
" " J. S. Kimball,		25 00
" " David H. Ela,		100 00
Bradford, " A. S. Society, per Rev. G. B. Perry,		50 00
" " Wm. N. Kimball,		25 00
Danvers, " A. Sanger,		50 00
Holliston, " Rev. O. Scott, on account of pledge,		100 00
Lowell, " Ladies' A. S. Society, per Miss J. Wyman, balance of $100 pledge,		78 18
Holliston, " A. S. Society, per Rev. Mr. Remond, on pledge of $50,		6 65
Haverhill, " A. S. Society, per G. Appleton,		50 00
Newburyport, Mass., A. S. Society, per A. Stanwood,		50 00
Millville, Mass., M. Buffum,		3 00
" " W. Capron,		1 00
Norton, " per G. L. Clarke,		4 75
Salem, " and its vicinity, A. S. Society, per Isaac Winslow and A. Sanger,		500 00
Uxbridge, " A. S. Society, per E. L. Capron,		50 00
" " Female A. S. Society, per E. L. Capron,		10 00
Ware Village, Mass., Charles E. French,		1 00
Coventry, R. I., by Peleg Clark,		7 00
Brookfield, Conn., by H. Northrup,		2 50
Farmington, " Mrs. A. A. Phelps,		50 00
Lebanon, " Sarah A. Ely, per Z. Hyde,		3 00
Norwich, " E. W. Farnsworth,		20 00
Adams, N. Y., W. R. Willis,		2 00
" " P. D. Stone,		1 00
" " C. Fox,		0 55
" " G. J. Adams,		0 25
" " S. Bliss,		1 00
Almond, " R. H. Coleman,		11 13
Harpersfield, N. Y., P. Penfield,		0 88
Monroe co., " A. S. S., per S. D. Porter, on account of $500 pledge,		100 00
New York City, Martin R. Berry,		5 00
" J. L. Jennings, on pledge of $200 for people of color,		50 00
" Wm. Tracey,		20 00
" A. Tappan,		250 00
" John Rankin,		100 00
" Dr. T. Ritter,		1 00
New York City, Rev. T. S. Wright,		$1 88
" A friend,		10 00
" Rev. E. Wheeler,		1 00
" T. R. Chipman,		0 50
" A. C. Cox,		1 00
Shushan, N. Y., Orra Brown,		0 50
" " Aaron V. Groot,		0 13
Whippany, N. J., N. J. Thomas,		5 00
Darlington, Pa., Dr. J. Frazier,		1 02
Fallstown, " A. W. & R. Townsend, per Mr. Wattles,		10 00
Philadelphia, Dr. E. P. Atlee,		5 00
Cleaveland, Ohio, S. J. Andrews, Esq.,		12 00
" " L. Beebe,		3 00
" " H. Kingsbury,		2 00
" " T. P. Hardy,		0 81
Carlisle, " W. H. Johnson,		5 00
Norwich, " D. Wallace,		5 00
New Garden, Ohio, N. & T. Galbraith, per Mr. Wattles,		5 00
Putnam, " Rev. J. Hunt,		0 50
Talmadge, " A. S. Society, per J. W. Alvord,		6 00
Wilmington, " Thos. Hibben,		5 00
		$2239 66

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8, Cedar St.
New York, April 15, 1836.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from March 1st to April 1st, 1836.

Carlisle, Pa., by Margaret Knox,	$15 00
Darien, Ct., by W. Whitney,	1 50
Fall River, Mass., by Miss S. G. Buffum,	16 00
Haddam, Ct., by D. C. Tyler,	1 50
Honesdale, Pa., J. P. Foster,	8 00
" " S. Stevens,	1 00
" " S. North,	50
" " S. Brush,	50
" " G. M'Keen,	50
Millville, Mass., by R. Battey,	1 50
Morristown, N. J., H. A. Halsey,	50
Newark, " Dr. J. M. Ward,	5 00
Norwich, Ct., by Miss E. W. Farnsworth,	4 00
Newburyport, Mass., Miss Susan Wood,	9 00
New York City, John Usmar,	25
Oneida Institute, N. Y., by W. J. Savage,	4 00
Sandy Hill, " " Miss S. Stow,	7 00
" " L. Mabbett,	2 00
Shushan, " by L. Church,	4 87
Tompkinsville, " Wm. M'George,	2 00
Wilmington, Vt., " M. Bruce,	20 00
Ware, Mass., S. Cummings,	37
" " W. Woolworth,	50
" " A. B. Huntington,	50
Whitesboro, N. Y., by T. Beebe,	5 00
Received for Emancipator,	169 50
" " Human Rights,	67 50
" " Quarterly Magazine,	46 75
" " A. S. Record,	44 50
" " Books, pamphlets, &c.,	322 78
	$762 02

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.

Total Receipts, $3001 68

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. VI. JUNE, 1836. WHOLE No. 18.

THE RUNAWAY.

AT the late interesting Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Alvan Stewart, Esq., of Utica, rose just as the meeting was about to separate, and related the following anecdote, which may be relied upon as authentic. The sympathy of the audience was decidedly with the fugitive.

"In Georgia," said Mr. S., "about three years ago, there lived a man, black but noble, a giant in strength, and in form an Apollo Belvidere, about 35 years of age, a slave, with a wife and four children, also slaves. The love of liberty burned irrepressible in his bosom, and he determined to escape, and free his wife and children, at every hazard. He had heard of Canada, as a place where the laws made every man free, and protected him in his freedom. But of its situation, or the road thither, or the geography of the intermediate country, he knew nothing. A Quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a wagon by night. In the day time they lay concealed in the woods; and on the second night the same

man carried them fifty miles further. At the end of the second night he told the black man that he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry, but, taking him by the hand, he committed him to God and the North star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and after skulking in the day and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river, (the Savannah,) the existence of which he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two young children on his back, and between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered through the states of South and North Carolina and Virginia, crossed Pennsylvania without even knowing that it was the land of the Quakers; and finally, after six weeks of toil and hardship, he reached Buffalo. Here he placed his wife and children in the custody of a tribe of Indians in the neighborhood, for the poor man will always be the poor man's friend, and the oppressed will stand by the oppressed. The man proceeded to town, and as he was passing through the streets, he attracted the notice of a colored barber, also a man of great bodily power. The barber stepped up to him, put his hand on his shoulder, and says, 'I know you are a runaway slave, but never fear, I am your friend.' The man confessed he was from Georgia, when the barber said, 'Your master inquired about you to-day, in my shop, but do not fear; I have a friend who keeps a livery stable, and will give us a carriage as soon as night comes, to carry your family beyond the reach of a master.' As the ferry boat does not run across the Niagara river in the night, by day break they were at the ferry house, and rallied the ferryman to carry them to the Canada shore. They hastened to the boat, and just as they were about to let go, the master was seen, on his foaming horse, with pistol in hand, calling out to the ferryman to stop and set those people ashore, or he would blow his brains out. The stout barber, quick as thought, said to the ferryman, 'If you do n't put off this instant, I 'll be the death of you.' The ferryman, thus threatened on both sides, lifted up his hands, and cried: 'The Lord have mercy on me! It seems I am to be killed any how. But if I do die, I will die doing right,' and CUT THE ROPE.

The powerful current of the Niagara swept the boat rapidly into deep water, beyond the reach of tyranny. The workmen at work on the steamboat Henry Clay, near by, almost involuntarily gave three cheers for liberty. As the boat darted into the deep and rapid stream, the people on the Canada side, who had seen the occurrence, cheered her course, and in a few moments the broad current was passed, and the man, with his wife and children, were all safe on British soil, protected by British laws!!"

For the A. S. Record.

CASTE.

Mr. Editor,—If you can afford the room, I will venture to express my sentiments on two points which are of great importance in the present state of our holy cause.

1. Our duty, as individuals in relation to the distinction of caste.

2. The propriety of separate institutions for the two castes.

1. Our duty as individuals. Caste is an arbitrary division of society into classes, which may not mingle, on terms of equality, in the common intercourse of life. It differs from the distinctions created by wealth, refinement, education, &c., by being unsurpassable. Its barrier separates between individuals who are, in all important respects, mental and corporeal, on an absolute level. It even consigns to a fictitious inferiority individuals who are every way superior.

Caste is a foe to human happiness, producing oppression, jealousy, revenge, and settled hate; and obstructing the progress of the Gospel of peace.

The American *caste of color* is the direct effect of *slavery*, and tends powerfully to perpetuate that unjust system.

Who then will not say that it is an unrighteous distinction, which ought to be universally abolished, if not individually disregarded? Such an abolition would not *force* individuals of the two classes into social intercourse, but would leave the laws which regulate the intercourse of members of either class to their unrestricted operation in regard to all. The propriety of these laws, whatever they may be, is not now the question.

But if the circumstances of *color* ought not socially to divide the community into two classes, then the duty of *individuals* rests upon two grounds. 1. The individual is bound to do all those acts which it would be his *duty* to do, were there no such unrighteous distinction. The *duty* of the community is nothing but the aggregate of individual duties. The opinions or wishes of others cannot make it right for me to neglect a plain duty. They may make it right for me to refrain from things which are not obligatory. They may make it my *duty* to abstain from those things which, indifferent in themselves, may be construed as an ostentatious disregard of others. But there are cases in which I cannot regard caste without sin, let the opinions of others be what they will. For example: It may be right for me to refrain from cultivating the acquaintance of a certain colored individual—from inviting him to my table, and accepting invitations to his; it would, perhaps, be even wrong for me, as things are, to seek him out and walk arm in arm with him up Broadway; but if he should present himself at the door of my house, or of my pew in the Church of God, it would be *wrong*, yea, wicked in me to treat him with the less courtesy on account of his *color*, and the public prejudice against him for that reason. The false opinions and wrong feelings of others cannot be admitted among the considerations which determine duty in this case, without admitting a principle which will sanction all manner of *sin*. In my *manner* of doing my duty, I am bound not unnecessarily to disturb the feelings of others; but in the *matter* of it, I am bound to obey

whatever may be the consequences to myself or others, the commandment of God, "Honor all men."

2. Every individual is bound to do that which will convince others of the folly and wickedness of caste. He has duties as a reformer. What is it that keeps up caste? Example. And what else can throw it down? Precept without practice is notoriously powerless. It is even worse. No man's *practice* is so successfully quoted to support any sin, as his who acts contrary to, or not in accordance with, his right principle in regard to that sin. Now, whatever may be the clamor, wrath, and reviling, of any, or any number of individuals against abolitionists, for their intercourse with the colored people, I cannot but believe that to this, more than any other cause, we owe the firm hold which our doctrines have taken of the public conscience. We may have been occasionally indiscreet in the *manner*, but when we give up the *matter*, I shall despair of our cause—and not till then. I must, therefore, believe it peculiarly the duty of every abolitionist, as such, to take special pains to honor, by frank, open, unconstrained courtesy, merit, whenever it appears beneath a colored skin. He should not forsake the society of whites, but he should meet the deserving colored man with the hand and heart of a *brother*. Such conduct cannot fail to be appreciated by the objects of our regard, and to have the happiest effect. It will convince all candid men, that to make the abolition of slavery successful and happy, it is only necessary to prostrate caste. I believe the conduct of Christ, in eating with publicans and sinners, conversing with the Samaritan woman, &c., illustrates both these views.

2. *Separate institutions.* These may seem to have grown out of necessity, but they undoubtedly re-act, to strengthen the wrong which originated them. For the improvement of the colored people they are as absurd as would be separate schools for the more ignorant and backward class of children. But as they grow out of the prejudice of the more powerful caste, it is obviously premature to overthrow them till the prejudice can be measurably subverted which gave them rise. Neither is it proper to go on as though they were not to be dispensed with. The first openings of a reformed public feeling towards the colored people should be seized to introduce the better system. I suppose Christ and his apostles did not preach up, specially, emancipation from the slavery of their times, simply because there was not in the world fear of God enough to make it of any avail—there was no *place to put the lever on*—it was their business to lay that very thing for us. So we are laying a foundation on which our colored brethren may be, and ere long will be, invited to seats with us in the halls of science and the house of God. Let us not be impatient. Let us *act* out, and, indeed, preach the whole truth, but in our preaching we must insist on the beginning till that is received. God himself, in communicating truth, has observed order; not because all truth was not obligatory, but because it was necessary to overcome the perverseness of depraved man. Our colored friends ought to avail themselves at present of their separate institutions; but no time should be lost, on our part, in the work of introducing a better system. W.

For the A. S. Record.

A FABLE.

It came to pass, once upon a time, when the fowls of the air were much annoyed by the Lion, and other wild beasts, it was thought best that all the birds should unite, in order to defend themselves against their common enemy. Accordingly, a herald was sent forth to call all the feathered tribes together, and soon the Eagles, Fishhawks, Crows, Robins, Cranes, Pigeons, Blackbirds, Woodpeckers, Partridges, Owls, Henhawks, Pigeonhawks, and Vultures, were gathered together, and after serious deliberation, it was unanimously

Resolved, That all birds were born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that they would help each other in all cases of invasion, from whatever quarter they might arise. It was likewise agreed, that all the feathered tribes should have equal and undisturbed possession of their own native woods; and all differences arising should be settled according to the above rule of equal rights. The alliance being formed, it was resolved to commence war with the Lion and other wild beasts, that had for some time past disturbed the peace of their country. The Eagle was chosen commander-in-chief of the army, and soon a dreadful onset was made upon the wild beasts. The Eagles, Fishhawks, and Vultures, soon seized and held them, and the Crows, Robins, Blackbirds, and Woodpeckers, picked out their eyes. Some died of their wounds, and others crawled away to their dens, mourning over their hard fate. The victory was complete, and all the birds held a yearly jubilee, believing, as it was said, that no power on earth could stand before their united forces. For years the treaty was observed by all parties. At length the tribe of Hawks became numerous, and in process of time they grew hungry, and wished to feast on some fat Robins in the neighborhood, and, regardless of the treaty, many Robins were butchered, to satisfy the appetites of their ravenous and cruel neighbors. But the poor Robins cried for help, and the Eagles came together and inquired into the matter, and the Hawks were severely censured for their wicked conduct. But still the Hawks attempted to justify themselves, by saying that that was the way they got their living; and still further added, that they were able to take possession of all the country inhabited by the Red Robins, and right or wrong, they would do it. The Eagles reminded the Hawks of the treaty that had been made between the feathered tribes, and the injustice and danger of violating the solemn compact. The Hawks pretended they did not consider that the Red Robins were to have equal rights with other birds, inasmuch as they were of a peculiar color, and had little strength to defend themselves. The Eagles contended that their color was no reason why they should be destroyed, and that, if they were feeble, they should and ought to be protected; and, after warning the Hawks against similar acts of injustice, the meeting was disbanded. But soon the Hawks got together, and made a terrible onset upon the poor Robins, killing some, and forcing others to flee into the distant thickets for life. Meanwhile, some Vultures having

grown old and lazy, and being unwilling to take the trouble to go to the sea for food, they determined to feed on the Crows and Blackbirds in their immediate vicinity. At first, the Crows and Blackbirds were made an easy prey to the Vultures; but soon the alarm was given, and the Eagles rushed to the place, and made such a tremendous outcry, as made the Vultures tremble for their own safety. The guilty Vultures immediately assembled all their brethren together, with the Hawks and Owls, to defend themselves against the Eagles, and having organized, by putting one of their chiefs into the chair, a Mr. Vulture first arose and addressed the meeting. He made many eloquent and touching appeals to the sympathies of his brethren. He said it was enough to break a heart of stone to hear what the Eagles said about the Vultures, Henhawks, Owls, and Pigeonhawks, taking away the rights of the Robins, Crows, and Blackbirds. "Brethren and friends," said he, "ours is one common cause. We must be united. We cannot live unless we take away the life and liberty of others. This we have always been wont to do, and even when we united with the Union, this right was not taken away from us; therefore, Resolved, that before we will give up this right we will blow the Union to atoms, and that we regard all efforts made by the Eagles to liberate the Crows, Robins, and Blackbirds, as unconstitutional, and a direct infringement of our most sacred rights." (3 Cheers.) To this the Eagles replied, "if it is true that you cannot live without taking away the life and liberty of others, then we ask which is the most important, the life and liberty of a few Owls, Hawks, and Vultures, or the life and liberty of so many millions of Robins, Crows, and Blackbirds? And if your conduct was allowed in the dark and troublous times when you united with the Union, even then it was not justified, as our Declaration of Independence clearly shows; and if you *were* allowed to do wrong in time past, will *continuing* to do wrong make wrong right?" "Knock 'em down, knock 'em down," said every Vulture in the house. "Go on," said the Owl, "go on, Mr. Hawk, I see *as clear as day light;* there is no sense in what the Eagles have said." So Mr. Hawk arose and said, "be it Resolved, that we will hang, without judge or jury, all Eagles we can get in our clutches who have dared to say one word in defence of the rights of the Robins, Crows, and Blackbirds. (3 Cheers.) And be it further Resolved, that gags be made and put into the mouths of all the Eagles in the land, in order to stop their dreadful notes of alarm; for," added he, "unless we can stop their mouths, we are undone: Therefore, Resolved, that 500 Vultures, and 500 Hawks be appointed to do this important business." But here a difficulty arose; the Vultures could not catch the Eagles, and the Hawks dare not attack them, so they knew not what to do. At length Mr. Screech Owl arose and said, "my friends, our cause is desperate, unless we can make up in lies and noise what we lack in strength and argument; therefore, be it further *Resolved*, that the Owls in the land be instructed to publish all the lies they can think or hear of against the Eagles, in order to destroy their influence; and further," said the Screech Owl, "I would here recommend, that all my brother Editors be instructed and requested to keep up such a continual noise, that no one can hear what the Eagles have to say for themselves or against us,

for, if the Eagles can get a candid hearing, we shall lose strength by it;" and, in a low tone of voice, added, "our cause is weak enough now, every body knows." Whereupon, Mr. Henhawk arose and said, "Gentlemen, desperate cases require desperate remedies. We must not mince this matter, and, for my own part, I am for dissolving all Union with the other feathered tribes. We love to live on Crows and Blackbirds, and the Eagles, Fishhawks, and other tribes, live on fish and grain, and we have no common interest with them; therefore let us be free." But here some queries arose; Mr. Pigeonhawk said he was afraid to dissolve the Union, "for," said he, "we may need the assistance of the Eagles. If the Crows, Robins, and Blackbirds, should arise, to avenge the injuries we have done to them, without the assistance of some of the other birds, it might go hard with us." "Poh! Poh! Poh!" resounded from all parts of the hall; when Mr. Henhawk forthwith took the floor, and said, "Be it Resolved, unanimously, that all our compacts with the other feathered tribes be from henceforth annulled; and that the Union be, and hereby is, this day dissolved." (6 Cheers.) All the while this business was transacting, the Eagles and other birds were in the tops of the trees, and beheld the proceedings; and, as soon as the treasonable meeting broke up, the presiding Eagle assembled the other birds, when it was unanimously Resolved, that they were no longer bound to protect the Vulture, Owls, Henhawks, and Pigeonhawks from danger, as they had, by their own act, cut themselves off from the Union. In process of time, the Robins, Crows, and Blackbirds, having suffered long and much from the few Vultures, Hawks, and Owls, which inhabited the woods, came in clouds, fell upon their foes, and soon picked out their eyes, while they in vain called on the Eagles to help them; and it was said, as an old Vulture lay dying, he lamented that he had put too much confidence in his own strength. An old Hawk said, in his dying lamentation, he found he had more courage than justice or wisdom, and it had proved his ruin; "for," said he, "it is hard to die in a good cause, but to die in a bad cause is dreadful indeed." An old Owl was heard to say his death was owing to two things, his folly, and his hard fate; "for," said he, "it has always been my misfortune to see the least when the sun shines the clearest, and it was my folly to think that Eagles might be scared by noise; but now, when it is too late, I see my folly." A Pigeonhawk, as his last words, said, "Experience is a dear school, but I am one of those fools who will learn in no other."

LETTER FROM MR. BIRNEY.

Columbus, Ohio, April 30, 1836.

DEAR SIR,—I looked forward, some time ago, with great pleasure to the return of our Anniversary next month, and to the probability of being myself one of the number to assemble in your city on that interesting occasion. Circumstances forbid my being with you. My solicitude for you will not be the less, on this account.

You will, doubtless, have heard, before you receive this, of the

blessed and animating meeting that the friends of the poor and perishing in our land have held, a few days since. But one heart, one mind, was there. How astonishingly, too, has the Lord succored his cause in this State—finding for it healthful nutriment in the fiery darts, and in the most envenomed persecutions of our adversaries! But His ways are past finding out. How should we rejoice, that, whenever they are seen, they are found to be the ways of wisdom, pleasantness, and peace!

The spirit of anarchy was rampant in the little village of Granville, during the session of our friends in its neighborhood. Yet did the Lord hold back the violent men, so that they did not molest us in the performance of the duties which brought us together. However, the street furnished no faint representation of Pandemonium. Females walking in mid-day, did not altogether escape insult—peaceable citizens were assaulted and their persons injured. Constitutional rights were despised and struck to the ground—all law trampled under foot and dishonored. Nothing, Sir, saved us from being consumed, except that fear which God puts into the hearts of even the most wicked, and by which he effectually restrains them. As I was leaving the village, about the middle of the afternoon, riding on a horse disfigured by mobocratic malevolence the night before, I was saluted by the yells of the multitude, accompanied with a discharge of their most usual missile.

In passing through this place, on my way to Granville, I had agreed to deliver a lecture on my return, if a house could be procured. Last evening was the time appointed—the place, the Courthouse. A large and decorous audience came together. During the hour I spoke, the mob, having crowded about the door in the passage, were engaged in discharging at me their lighter missiles. When I had finished, and was returning to my lodgings a mile distant, I was attended by them a greater part of the way—they breaking in on the stillness of the night with their fierce and demoniac shouts. And yet, Sir, how shall we visit them with the greatest condemnation? They know not what they do. These disorders were all brought about by the protest of leading men in Granville. Although they would not, and on the present occasions did not, partake of the disgraceful deeds of the ignorant and the openly vicious, yet no one can doubt of their having incurred the deep guilt of instigators and abettors.

But why, you may ask, do I dwell on such things—of late, by no means of uncommon occurrence? I recall them that our friends, the friends of freedom to the slave, of freedom to the white man, of protecting law, of inalienable rights, of constitutional liberty, may be more and more animated in the conflict. Every day is disclosing to us more evidently the dangerous condition of our country—and how a God of Justice is bringing on an impenitent nation retribution, in the loss of our own liberty, for having plundered and violated the liberty of others. Let us then, dear brother, still more industriously gird up ourselves to the work before us—of bringing our country to penitence as the best, nay, the only means of saving her. We, who are now in the field, may all perish; and this too by the agency of the very men among us, the most interested in the re-establishment of the principles of our government. But what of this? Our faithfulness unto death, if we

be called thus far to suffer, will animate others to fill our places, whilst we go home to reap our reward, and be forever with the Lord. We fight, not with the courage of despair, but with the calmness of certain victory; with the strength of those who feel that their power is from the Almighty; with the weapon of Truth prepared by Him who is the friend of truth, for the destruction, the final and utter destruction of its adversary, error.

Yours, in behalf of the perishing,

JAMES G. BIRNEY

For the A. S. Record.

AN OBJECTION, WITH A MATTER OF FACT ANSWER.

SLAVE-HOLDER. If my slaves were to be emancipated, they would become thieves, robbing my cellar, and granary, and henroost; in short, they would become a lawless band of marauders, pillaging every thing within their reach.

ABOLITIONIST. Give us the *proof* that they would steal, if emancipated, and paid wages for their labor."

SLAVE-HOLDER. *Proof?* Do n't they steal *now?*

ABOLITIONIST. Possibly they do. But, Jefferson says, they steal only from their masters, and this they think no crime; for it is not right to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.

But I have a *fact* for you, to show that slaves steal not from their *friends*, but only from their *enemies*,—thus proving, that if the *slave-holder* would become the friend of the slave, his property would be safe.

Mr. Renshaw, who tells the story, was formerly an officer in the U. S. Navy. He is now a member of Oberlin Institute, Ohio. Mr. R. says, 'When I went to Kentucky, in the fall of 1834, to teach school, I was cautioned frequently against leaving any thing in the schoolroom. The slaves, I was informed by all, were inveterate theives, and would certainly steal from me every thing they could lay hands on. I doubted the truth of the statement, and determined, so far as I was able, to test it. For this purpose, I kept my trunk, bag, books, and writing desk, in the schoolhouse. On neither of them was there lock or strap:—nor was there lock, or bolt, or bar, on door or window. I kept my money in my desk, and left a cloak and coat hanging up in full view from the road. There were hundreds of slaves in the region, many passing daily, and more or less coming into the schoolroom, to warm themselves, converse with me, &c. Not unfrequently in the morning would I find marks of their having been there through the night, building a fire, moving the benches, &c., yet *nothing was taken.* For nine months I left my things thus exposed. During ten weeks of that time, I was 15 miles from the schoolhouse, for five days in each week, and my absence was known to all the slaves. Yet, when I left Kentucky, the only thing that had been stolen from me was a handful of wafers, and they, I afterwards found, were taken by a white boy, the son of a slave-holder. Though the slaves did not

steal from me, I sometimes heard of their depredations on the garners and hencoops of the slave-holders. C. STEWART RENSHAW."

SLAVE-HOLDER. Is it possible? Why was this?

ABOLITIONIST. I will tell you. Mr. Renshaw was the warm friend of the negroes, was laboring for their elevation, acknowledged their rights, and *they knew it.*"

For the A. S. Record.

"CONTENTED AND HAPPY."

Proof. Some time since, a mother and two children escaped from slavery in "the low countries," and came up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Cincinnati. After being in that city a few days, she heard that the agents of her master were in pursuit of her, and had already arrived in the city, and were searching her out. She had breathed the pestilential atmosphere of slavery and the pure air of freedom. She loved the latter,—for God had adapted her lungs to inhale it. She resolved never to become a slave again. Especially was she determined that her children should not wear a chain. Fearing her pursuers might learn the place of her concealment, and if they did not succeed in taking her, might carry off her two little children, by robbing her of them while asleep, never did she, for many days, go to bed at night, without first binding the children to her body with a piece of the bed cord, and depositing a razor or sharp knife under her pillow; so that, if suddenly seized, she might take the life of her children, and then her own, rather than be carried back into slavery!

A MAN in Cincinnati, who had formerly been a slave in Virginia, was asked if he had not rather be the slave of a kind master in Old Virginia, where he had plenty to eat and drink and light work and no whippings, than to live in Ohio, where the laws were so severe, and he had to work hard for a living. He replied, "I had rather be a free man, and own my own body, and call my wife and children *mine*, and be compelled to beg my bread from door to door, and go to the Ohio river to drink, than to be a slave in Virginia, *where I used to hear the cries of my poor perishing brethren, as they were daily beat and whipped by the cruel overseers.*"

[There was moral sublimity in this answer. This man looked not on his own things, but on the things of others. He could not be joyous, while his "poor perishing brethren" were in anguish. If all had this spirit, how long would slavery endure?]

JAMES BRADLEY, an emancipated slave, formerly of Lane Seminary, speaking of the heaven born and irrepressible longings of the slaves for freedom, gave utterance to his own feelings thus: "*Even liberty is bitter to me, while my brethren remain in bondage.*"

[That sentiment is worthy of an angel. It is entering fully into the injunction of the Apostle, to "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them."]

For the A. S. Record.

MONARCH! on thy throne of power—
Maiden! in thy silent bower—
Sailor! o'er the bright blue sea—
Laborer! 'neath the forest tree—
Painter! forms on canvass throwing,
With more than mortal beauty glowing—
Poet! in thy bright Ideal,
Blending the fancied with the real,
Till common things and faded seem
Fresh, from the splendors of thy dream—
Mother! with thy babe at rest,
Softly pillowed on thy breast—
Father! at thy happy hearth—
Infant! in thy careless mirth—
Sage! enwrapt 'mid ancient lore—
Peasant at thy cottage door—
Saint! whose offering of prayer,
Angels unto Heaven bear—
All who on the land or sea
Dwell or roam at liberty,
Fair, and Wise, and Good, and Brave,
Join to *free* the outcast Slave!
Join! in crusade holier far,
Than that 'gainst mosque and scimitar—
Join by the ties of earthly love,—
Join by the hope of bliss above,—
Join by the seal of Heaven, imprest
By GOD himself in human breast,—
Join for his sake whose pitying care,
All castes and every color share!
Slavery breaks the highest laws,
Wrests justice from the poor man's cause,
Rends asunder friend and brother,
Parts for ever child and mother.—
Pleasure in the bud is blighted,
The rising day of Hope benighted,
All that 's high in man—effaced,
All in woman pure—debased,
Each trace of lineage from on high,
Worn out and lost by Slavery!
Oh! join, nor let the fertile soil
Be cursed by unrequited toil,
Nor the bright sun from his high path behold,
Man by his brother mortal, bought and sold!
Immortal man, by man immortal, driven
Far from the only hope to mortals given—
Oh! *join*, and warn the Tyrant ere too late
What from offended GOD must be his fate,

Join 'till erect each drooping head ye see,
Each fetter broken, all the oppressed gone free,
'Till Peace to *all* her many colored bow displays,
And all unite to sing a common Father's praise!

ANNA.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from April 15th to May 15th, 1836.

Vermont,		A. S. Society, per E. H. Prentiss,	$100 00
Providence,	R. I.	T. & R.	5 00
Ashburnham,	Mass.	S. Goodyear,	5 00
Amherst,	"	A Collegian,	1 00
Boston,	"	Wm. L. Garrison,	5 00
"	"	Dr. S. Brown,	0 50
Fall River,	"	Miss S. G. Buffum,	5 00
Harpersfield,	"	David Penfield,	5 00
Hebronville,	"	A. S. Society,	1 00
Lenox,	"	Dr. O. W. Brewster,	2 00
"	"	Mr. Robbins,	1 00
Mexico,	"	D. Chandler,	5 00
Sherburn Falls,	"	Dea. P. Field,	5 00
Brooklyn,	Conn.	A. S. Society,	10 00
"	"	Friends at Monthly Concert, per S. J. May,	3 00
	"	From Friends,	9 00
Meriden,	"	Individuals per A. A. Phelps,	41 00
Hampton,	"	James R. Guild,	5 00
New Haven,	"	A. S. Society per S. S. Jocelyn, on pledge of 1835,	150 00
	"	Students at Theological Seminary,	10 00
Plymouth,	"	Friends, per J. C. Lewis,	31 58
Vernon,	"	N. O. Kellegg,	2 00
Weston,	"	John Tarney,	1 00
Cortlandt Village,	N. Y.	Henry Eels,	1 00
Arcade,	N. Y.	A. S. Society,	12 00
Norfolk,	"	A Friend,	5 00
Peterboro,	"	Gerrit Smith,	2000 00
Rochester,	"	Mrs. O Stone,	0 50
Schenectady,	"	Rich. P. G. Wright,	10 00
Utica,	"	E. H. Knowlton,	5 00
Yorktown,	"	Dr. H. White,	5 00
Whitesboro,	"	Juvenile A. S. Society,	12 00
New York City,		Arthur Tappan,	250 00
"		John Rankin,	100 00
"		William Jay,	100 00
"		Anonymous, per W. S.	50 00
"		A Lady Teacher, on pledge of 1835,	59 00
"		Wesleyan Juvenile A. S. Society, per J. S. Dewey,	10 00
"		Monthly Concert of Col. Ch. per T. S. Wright,	13 60
"		Lady's Anniversary,	1 00
"		Esther Lane,	5 00
"		Rev. G. Bourne's marriage fee,	5 00
"		T. R. Chipman,	0 50
Boonton,	N. Jersey,	A. S. Society,	20 00
Harpersfield,	"	From Friends,	1 00
Lyons Farms,	"	Miss S. Meeker,	2 00
North East,	Penn.	A. S. Society,	5 00
"		A Friend,	1 00
Leicester,	"	Eliza Earle for Ladies' Pledge of $20,	5 00
Pittsburg,	"	J. B. Vashon,	10 00
Philadelphia,	Penn.	Rebecca Buffum, on pledge of $15 for three friends,	5 00
Ohio, Columbiana & Fairfield		A. S. Society, per Lot Holmes,	10 00
New Garden,	Ohio,	per B. B. Davis,	5 00
New Athens,	"	A. S. Society,	10 00
Oberlin,	"	A. S. Society, per H. Lyman,	50 00
Ripley,	"	Mrs. Rachel McLain,	1 00
Vernon,	"	Levi Sutliff,	4 00
"	"	Dying Legacy of Mrs. L. Sutliff,	6 00
			$3182 68

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8, Cedar St.
New York, May 15, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from April 1st, to May 1st, 1836.

Andover,	Mass.	Mrs. Emory, per T. Douglass,	$1 50
"	"	Students in Seminary,	4 50
Brooklyn,	Conn.	A. Stillson,	6 75
Buffalo,	N. Y.	per Philena Hunt,	12 74
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Oneida Institute,		per W. J. Savage,	6 81
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Rome,	N. Y.	per Dr. Blair,	5 00
Sherburn,	N. Y.	per J. C. Harrington,	6 00
Waitsfield,	Vt.	Ithamer Smith,	2 00
Whitesboro,	N. Y.	Oneida Institute, per W. J. Savage,	10 00
Wallon,	"	A. P. St. Johns,	1 00
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			$232 30

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets.

Total $3414 98

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. VII. JULY, 1836. WHOLE No. 19.

HINTS ON ANTI-ABOLITION MOBS.

FOR three or four years past, a small but rapidly increasing portion of the community have waged a moral warfare with slavery. By this is meant, that they have endeavored to persuade every body to regard as a SIN against human nature, and against God, the holding of men in involuntary bondage as brute beasts, "goods and chattels," merchandise.—A sin, which, like every other, ought to be *immediately* abandoned.

In connexion with this moral warfare, it is notorious that there is hardly a city or village in the land, in which there has not been a tumultuous outbreak of popular indignation in the shape of brute force—or, more briefly, a *mob*, to frighten into silence the promulgators of this plain, self-evident, and by no means novel doctrine of human rights! What is worthy of special remark in regard to these mobs, is the fact that they have all been *Anti-abolition*, not Abolition mobs. *The brute force has always been on one side.* It has always been against the cause of abolition. And it may be remarked, by the way, that the anti-abolition side would not have resorted to physical force if they had had a superabundance, or even a moderate supply, of argument.

Now, it is of late often said—"The day of mobs has gone by." This is a great mistake; and it is partly to correct this mistake, and partly to put the friends of human rights on their guard, that we have taken up the pen.

Anti-abolition mobs will die on the same day with slavery, and not before.

But why will not mobs die before slavery? Because, 1. Slavery is a system of violence and wrong, both physical and moral, and will always defend itself by violence and wrong, physical as well as moral.

2. Our constitutions of general and state government, which are

founded on the doctrine of equal rights, of which slavery is the most enormous violation, will not permit abolitionists to be silenced *by law*, hence they must be silenced, if possible, by violence against law, or, slavery must go down.

3. Though mobs can never put down abolitionism, so long as the laws of God endure, yet slaveholders and their abettors will always be too blind to see it.

4. Thousands of northern merchants, manufacturers and others, share with the masters in the unjust gains of slavery. To say that slavery is a sin, touches their pockets almost as directly as those of the slaveholder; it excites as much wrath, and must naturally call forth the same violence that the slaveholder is wont to bestow upon all who question the mandates of his sovereign will.

5. So long as slavery exists, slaveholders will give their presidential votes with reference to the support of it, and so long will the whole horde of hungry sycophants who seek offices in the gift of the president, do the bidding of slaveholders—and so long will they be bidden to raise anti-abolition mobs.

6. So long as slavery exists, the men at the north, whether at the bottom or top of society, who love to live in idleness, will sympathize with the oppressor, and so far as they can do it safely, will mob or murder every abolitionist. Why? Because they have no true and conscientious regard for law and order. A man who can, to any extent, act on the principle of slavery, can have no just regard for the supremacy of the law, for slavery is in the highest degree the triumph of brute force over law—the substitution of the dictates of arbitrary will, for the restraints of righteous principle and constitutional enactments. A man who believes that, in *some circumstances*, unoffending, unconvicted, untried men, may be justly deprived of their liberty, must of necessity be corrupt enough to believe that, in *some circumstances* innocent citizens may be mobbed in defiance of law. Such a man may be expected to encourage mobs, in *some circumstances;* always, of course, "for the good of the country." So long as slavery exists, there will be abundance of such men at the north, men who love idleness themselves and reverence it in others, men who hate industry themselves and despise it in others, and who will for ever sympathize with the tyrants who can get the most *work* with the least *pay*. Indeed, if there were not such men at the north, slavery would instantly cease. They are its most efficient supporters.

If the causes above mentioned will continue to operate so long as

slavery exists, and if abolition shall continue to flourish as it has done, then it is plain that more and stronger occasions will be furnished for mobs. The day of mobs is not yet past. It becomes us therefore to profit by our experience.

THE WAY IN WHICH THESE MOBS ARE GOT UP.

They never originate with the rabble. The aristocracy must have the sole credit of projecting, training, and leading them. No sooner is word received that an anti-slavery lecture or meeting is to take place, than the great men are in motion. "They are afraid that their city or village will be disgraced by a mob, which they say, in the face of such outrageous provocation it will be hardly possible to prevent. They think law and order ought to be preserved, but still they cannot find it in their hearts to blame the *people* if they *should* teach the abolitionist a salutary lesson. If men will brave public opinion they must take the consequences!" Such woful predictions along with abundant calumnies of the abolitionists are plentifully imparted in the bar-rooms, and stores, and at the street corners, where the wretches for whom the law has terrors will be most likely to hear them. These poor fellows reason thus, "Who knows better what the law can do than Judge *So and so?* and then the lawyers, and the congressmen, and all the great men think so too. One thing is certain, there will be a mob. If the judge meant to stop it or punish it, he would not have talked so about it. So we'll go and see what will come of it." There are few places where there is not a mass which may be easily excited in this way to any amount of disorder and riot.

It is wonderful how uniform is the history of all these disturbances. From one you may know them all. The head of the mob is composed of the expectants of office, the rich who love to oppress, the men who get their living by pandering to a base public sentiment, the professors of religion who shut out light lest they should see their duties. The long tail of the mob is made up of the sweepings of society, the reprobates from every thing good, men who drink deeply to revenge themselves upon the temperance reformation. In the head there is an intelligent hatred of abolition, and love of slaveholding. In the tail there is little else for motive but a hatred of moral obligation, and a desire to trample on law and order with impunity. Nine-tenths of the rabble who for three nights had possession of the city of New York, had not the slightest conception of the doctrines of those whose houses and churches they were demolishing. All they knew was, that so long as they attacked

only the abolitionists and the "niggers," there was no danger of bullets or bridewell. This was all they wanted to know.

THE DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS.

1. The true originators of these mobs should be held responsible for them, before the world. Their inflammatory paragraphs, and harangues, and measures should be treasured up against them. It is an injury to charge the mischief upon their blinded dupes. Let not the leaders escape on the plea of *neutrality*. If the object of the mob were plunder, and a man of this class were to stand upon his neutrality, he would be set down as an abettor, and charged with an intention of sharing the spoil. With regard to men in public life there can be no such thing as neutrality. Their silence is all that the mob wants. We are greatly mistaken if in some of our cities the respectable fomentors of riots have not received a lesson which they will not forget to their dying day. They have been placed upon their good behaviour, and the credit they take to themselves, for the fact that more recent abolition meetings within their sphere have been held in peace, is both a proof of their former guilt, and of the salutary effect of the discipline applied to reform them. These inflated aristocrats would never venture to get up a mob if they did not expect to escape from the responsibility of it. "We have come here to inform you," said the Utica "*Committee of twenty-five*," to the State Anti-Slavery Convention, "that if you persevere, we will not hold ourselves responsible for the consequences." But they were responsible for all the disturbance and violence which did occur, as well as for all that might have occurred, for the mob had been preached up by themselves, and it had followed at their heels, not unbidden. Let the names of the instigators always be published, and let them be made to understand that, if they take the course of *predicting* and justifying mobs, *they* will be held responsible for the consequences.

2. There should be no unnecessary provocation. It is not the business of abolitionists to boast what they *will do*, nor to pit themselves against the brute force of their opponents, but to change the public mind by a fair and fearless exhibition of the truth. Mobs are exceedingly to be deprecated, as ruinous to the morals of those who participate in them, and dangerous to the cause of free government. Therefore every thing should be done to prevent them, except to yield that which is the end of all law and government, the cause of human rights. Every thing should be done to quell them, except to fear them and

obey their mandates. Here it may well be remarked that the extreme apprehension manifested by some abolitionists, and their overstrained caution while making arrangements for meetings or lectures, has not tended to prevent a mob, but quite the reverse. The cowardly opposition is greatly encouraged by any signs of timidity on the part of abolitionists. We should go straight forward, and the suspicion that our fellow-citizens will disgrace themselves by a riot, should never be suffered to escape from the lips of any one. When such a thing occurs, we should not *treat* it as a thing which was to be expected, but should never seem able to understand how Americans can mob any body for proclaiming the doctrine of our memorable Declaration of Independence. Cowardice in a good cause is sure to receive a plenty of the kicks and cuffs of cowards.

3. Abolitionists should never suffer themselves to be driven from a meeting by the menaces or the noise or the missiles of a mob. What! Should they suffer themselves to be cloven down in their seats? Should they put their lives in jeopardy where no principle is involved? It is hardly necessary to decide this to establish our proposition. Threats are not always dangerous. Courage is not the attribute of a mob. And more than all, it should be remembered that anti-abolition mobs are of a peculiar construction, as we have attempted to show. They are led by "gentlemen of property and standing," who know very well that a murder would not advance their interests. The miserable tools seek only to make that amount of disturbance which they understand can be made with impunity. The most enormous threats and the most profane oaths are as cheap with them as any other noise. But their threats have no more to do with an execution, than their oaths have with the truth. It is their province, as it was of the ass in the fable, sent to drive the beasts into the clutches of the lion, to *frighten* by a tremendous *braying*. A certain daily editor* in New York, must have the glory of perfecting if not inventing this scheme of putting down the abolitionists. "To be sure," he admits, "it is wrong to mob the abolitionists in their meetings, all citizens have a right peaceably to assemble, &c.; but then *we* have a right to go to their meetings and say what we please." On this principle he calls upon all *patriots* to attend the abolition meetings and drown the speakers with clamor.—We can see no good reason to believe that any of the mobs got up to put down abolition meetings, on this plan, are likely to go much be-

* James Watson Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, seconded by many other editors, some of them professedly *pious*.

yond this tongue valor. Now whatever the duty of the abolitionists might be, provided the object of the mob was known to be *blood*, it cannot be their duty to yield and retire, when the object is obviously nothing more than to drive them out by clamor. Let them see that nothing short of slaughter will accomplish their purpose, and they will relinquish their wicked attempts. But what is gained by standing out against the deafening, diabolical uproar of a drunken mob? As to the rioters themselves, perhaps nothing, but as to the public, much. It gives a full proof of serious intentions and genuine sympathy for those in bonds. It will greatly diminish the frequency of mobs, for the civil authorities to see that by their permitting an outrageous breach of the peace they gain nothing but shame. It strengthens the courage of abolitionists to see that such a storm of wrath and railing can be lived through. On the other hand, let it be understood, that the first yell or the first brick-bat will put an abolition meeting to flight, and there will soon be in every place an organized band ready to play the game. If abolitionists have not made up their minds to face the brunt and run all the risks of mobs, whatever they may be, they might as well sit down in silence.

4. There should be no forcible resistance or menace of any kind. Every unpopular cause must owe its success to its endurance of persecution rather than to a physical vindication of its rights. And it is not necessary here to settle the question of the right or wrong of physical resistance, for whatever we may think of that, it is the most manifest and glaring folly for abolitionists to descend from the ground of *argument* where they have all possible advantage, to the ground of *brute force* where their enemies are a thousand to one, and must achieve an easy victory. A single act of violence on the part of an abolitionist is sufficient provocation for a general onset, and its evil influence will extend from one end of the land to the other. Altercation between individual abolitionists and mobocrats in the midst of a mob, is hardly less to be deprecated than violence. Words might as well be expended upon wild beasts. Let the mob have the credit of all the noise and disorder, while the friends of human rights retain their position with the calmness of reason and reliance on God, till the rage and rum of their adversaries has time to evaporate, for evaporate they will in a few hours, and together. Again.

5. The threat of a mob should never prevent a meeting. When a right, and above all that right of rights, free discussion, is called in question, then is the time to exercise it. Better to be driven from a

meeting by a storm of mob missiles and the satanic yells of the most villanous crew that a profligate aristocracy ever raked from the kennels of vice; better lose the life blood like water, than to submit now to the gag, on the subject of the household rights of man. Why, *gagging* is always only preparatory to *robbery* or *murder*, and if the matter is to be attempted, we may as well lose life first as last. It may be supposed that by a little waiting the storm will pass over harmless—the mobocrats will forget the subject, and *by and by* we may talk openly and plainly—Yes, and then they will *remember*, and their insolence will be tenfold greater than before, as they will have found out our weakness and their own strength. If abolitionists yield now, till the storm passes over, the day of grace for America is gone. There is no safety in retreat or standing still. But in going forward there is hope.

But while we recommend unflinching straight-forwardness in regard to mobs, we would by no means assert that wherever a mob is to be expected, there abolitionists should for that reason make it a point to hold meetings. This cause can command in its service but a given amount of energy, and of course that should be expended where it will tell most effectually. There is no question that lectures will effect more where reason bears sway, than where a mob does. All reformations commence and flourish most where the moral atmosphere is clearest. They do not commence in crowded and morally pestilential cities, but in the country. In the city, the brains of men are apt to be set to whirling like the carriage wheels, and their hearts to be hardened to human wo, by overwhelming and everywhere present spectacles of mingled vice and wretchedness, and their necks are so eternally bowing to pomp and vanity, that it is little wonder if they lose all manner of rectitude. But in the country, where the mockery of human art has not shut God out, the claims of humanity stand a better chance of a fair hearing and a righteous support. There is hardly room to doubt that the same labor in the cause of abolition, produces tenfold more fruit in the country than in the city. And this not simply because the country is more free from mobocracy than the city, but because there moral power lives and reigns more triumphantly. Cities afford the physical means of spreading the truth, but morally, in themselves, they are immense, stagnant, putrefying pools, which can only be kept from breeding general pestilence and destruction, by the purity of the streams which flow into them from the country.

6. Wicked, abominable, and dangerous as mobs are, in the cause of abolition, great advantage has been and may be derived from them.

Suppose that the southern states were full of mad dogs which were beginning to bite the people, and suppose we of the north were quite asleep to the matter, confident of our safety though exposed to danger, having in our hands the means both of prevention and cure, but quite ignorant of hydrophobia, and careless of the fate of our neighbors. And suppose it were the object of a lecturer to stir us up to act for the relief of others and our own salvation; would it not prodigiously increase his power, if in the course of his lecture half a dozen men, bitten by mad dogs, and foaming with canine madness, should rush in among his audience? There would be proof positive, not only that hydrophobia was a dreadful disease, but that his northern hearers were endangered by it. Now, in regard to slavery, if all at the north who are interested in their pockets to support it, were to tolerate abolition lectures with perfect indifference, there would be some reason to believe the stories they tell us about the mild and beneficent nature of slavery, as practically exemplified at the south. But now we know, and can effectually illustrate, the diabolical horrors of the system which crushes our colored brethren at the south, by the malicious, mean and murderous outrages upon their humble advocates at the north. When was a good cause, or a manly cause, or even a tolerable cause defended by hard swearing, brick-bats, and stale eggs, wielded by mobs of gamblers, debauchees, and sots, marshalled by well-dressed extortioners and cringing office-seekers? Really, it is difficult to say which is least to the credit of slavery, the character of these mobs, of the leaders, or of the missiles. The M'Duffies will mistake their interests, if they do not immediately pass word to their faithful allies at the north to put an instant stop to these mobs. Every abolition lecture they break up is a ruinous victory to the cause of slavery. The abolition lecturer comes into a place with his brains and his pockets full of facts and arguments to prove that slavery concerns the north, is supported at the north, endangers the north. The mob breaks in and drives him from the church. The next day he meets the same, or a still larger audience in a barn perhaps, and says, "the occurrence of yesterday renders it unnecessary for me, as I had intended, to develop and illustrate our connexion with and support of slavery, I shall therefore pass to the next topic." But, if the lecturer should be entirely driven off, the audience, dispersed by a pro-slavery mob, would not fail to make the same inference.

7. The salvation of our country now depends upon *our* living down, and working down, these mobs. They have already triumphed over

law; it is ours to show them, and the country, and all future generations, that such a triumph must be short, and soon repented of. It is ours to show that when a proud and tyrannical majority overleaps the sacred bulwark of the constitution, to trample on the minority's *freedom of speech*, they shall then meet a terrible avenger in the person of calm TRUTH, by whose unerring pencil and unfading colors, they shall be hung up on the canvas of the sky for everlasting contempt—a salutary warning to coming ages. Let us plead the cause of the poor and the needy, for his Redeemer is mighty.

In illustration of some of the previous remarks, we subjoin from the Emancipator the closing paragragh, in an account of the recent mob in Lockport. Near the close of Mr. Weld's lecture there, a meeting was called of the abolitionists of Niagara county, to organize a County Anti-Slavery Society, and the use of a church was obtained of its trustees. The mob, headed by the first judge and sheriff of the county, met at the same place. The result was as follows, and we hope it will teach abolitionists not to fear "the face of clay."

"One resolution decreed, that Mr. Weld should leave the place, and demanded an answer on the spot. Of course, he refused to respond to the call of the mob, although his answer was repeatedly and loudly demanded by its chairman. Another resolution declared, that no County Society should be formed. After about four hours of such turmoil, the mobocratic meeting *dissolved*, though scarcely any persons left the house. During all this commotion, *the abolitionists kept their seats.* The uproar having ceased, Mr. Weld rose and said, the abolitionists would now test the question, whether they were slaves *without* rights, or men *with* rights, by proceeding to organize the Niagara County Anti-Slavery Society. The Constitution was then read, and the society duly organized, the judges and *sans culottes* looking on. Mr. Weld then said, it was well understood that this was to have been his last lecture, having been so announced some days before, and well known to the mob, and hence they had shown their courage in resolving that he *should* leave the place, *after* he himself had resolved that he *would* do so. But duties alter with circumstances; and he would now stay, and test the question, whether our constitutional rights were realities or mockeries, and whether Statute law or Lynch law prevailed in Lockport. Accordingly, with leave of divine Providence, he said he should lecture in that house on Monday, at 2 o'clock, P. M. —remarking, that if the lecture passed off without interruption, it would be *his last*, but if not, he should stay in Lockport and continue to plead for constitutional liberty, and the supremacy of the laws, till liberty or he was defunct. After a session of five hours they adjourned. Monday came, and with it an immense assemblage, crowding the house to overflowing as on Saturday. Mr. Weld lectured between four and five hours, and at the close of his remarks, *four hundred and*

eighty new members united with the Anti-Slavery Society. There being *no disturbance*, he lectured no more, and soon left the place. It was a glorious triumph of courage over cowardice, right over wrong, liberty over anarchy, religion over heathenism."

"THE BILL OF ABOMINATIONS."

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

[From the Essex Gazette.]

LINES written on the passage of Pinkney's Resolutions in the House of Representatives, and of Calhoun's "Bill of Abominations" in the Senate of the United States.

Now, by our fathers' ashes!—where's the spirit
Of the true hearted and the unshackled gone?
Sons of old freemen, do we but inherit
Their *names* alone!

Is the old Pilgrim spirit quenched within us?
Stoops the proud manhood of our souls so low,
That Mammon's lure or Party's wile can win us
To silence now?

No—when our land to ruin's brink is verging
In God's name, let us speak, while there is time!
Now, when the padlocks for our lips are forging
SILENCE IS CRIME!

What! shall we henceforth humbly ask as favors
Rights all our own!—in madness shall we barter
For treacherous peace, the FREEDOM Nature gave us,
God and our Charter?

Here shall the statesman seek the free to fetter?
Here Lynch law light its horrid fires on high?
And in the Church, their proud and skilled abettor,
Make truth a lie?

Torture the pages of the hallowed Bible
To sanction crime and robbery and blood,
And in Oppression's hateful service, libel
Both man and God?

Shall our New England stand erect no longer,
But stoop in chains upon her downward way,
Thicker to gather on her limbs and stronger
Day after day.

Oh no—methinks from all her wild green mountains—
From valleys where her slumbering fathers lie—
From her blue rivers and her welling fountains,
And clear, cold sky!

From her rough coast and isles, which hungry ocean
Gnaws with his surges—from the fisher's skiff,
With white sail swaying to the billow's motion,
Round rock and cliff.

From the free fireside of her unbought farmer—
From her free laborer at his loom and wheel;
From the brown smith-shop, where beneath the hammer
Rings the red steel!

From each and all, if God hath not forsaken
Our land, and left us to an evil choice,
Loud as the summer thunder-bolt shall waken
A PEOPLE'S VOICE!

Startling and stern!—the Northern winds shall bear it
Over Potomac's to St. Mary's wave;
And buried Freedom shall awake to hear it
Within her grave.

Oh—let that voice go forth—The bondman sighing
By Santee's wave—in Mississippi's cane,
Shall feel the hope, within his bosom dying,
Revive again.

Let it go forth!—The millions who are gazing
Sadly upon us, from afar, shall smile,
And unto God devout thanksgiving raising,
Bless us the while.

Oh—for your ancient freedom, pure and holy,
For the deliverance of a groaning earth,
For the wronged captive, bleeding, crushed and lowly,
Let it go forth!

Sons of the best of fathers; will ye falter
With all they left ye periled and at stake!
Ho—once again on Freedom's holy altar
The fire awake!

Prayer-strengthened for the trial, come together,
Put on the harness for the moral fight,
And with the blessing of your Heavenly Father
MAINTAIN THE RIGHT!

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT TREASURER.

The Executive Committee have appointed Mr. Lewis Tappan, Assistant Treasurer, to act during the absence of Mr. Rankin in Europe.

Who bids?

"INCENDIARY PICTURES."

Owing to the absence of the Editor no "incendiary picture" was prepared for this number of the Record. We have, however, procured and placed above a little one—"inflammatory, incendiary, and insurrectionary in the highest degree"—which is in common use at the South. The cast from which it was taken was manufactured in this city, for the southern trade, by a firm of stereotypers, who, on account of the same southern trade, refused to stereotype the Record, *because* it contained just such pictures! Now, how does it come to pass, that this said picture when printed in a southern newspaper is perfectly harmless, but when printed in the Anti-Slavery Record is perfectly incendiary? We have nothing further to say about it till this question is answered.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from May 15th, to June 21th, 1836.

Bath, Maine, Friends,	$13 00
Champlain, N. Y. Prudential Com. of C. Benev. Soc.	11 00
China, N. Y., C. O. Shephard, Esq.,	5 00
Hartwick, N. Y., per S. Maynard,	1 00
Jersey Township, O., Friends, per E. Whitehead,	5 00
Mansfield, Ct. Dr. J. Adams,	3 00
" Miss S. Ellsworth,	1 00
Massachusetts, A Friend,	25 00
Middletown, Ct., per J. G. Baldwin, on account of pledge,	25 00
New York City Ladies' A. S. Society, ($120 of which are from the A. S. Sewing Society.)	130 00
New York City, Arthur Tappan,	250 00
" John Rankin, for June, July and August,	300 00
" Rev. James Lilley,	2 00
" Charles M. Hyatt,	1 00
" N. Comstock,	25
" A Friend,	1 25
Portland, Maine, Young Men's A. S. Society per Gen. Appleton,	40 00
Rochester, N. Y. A. S. Society, per G. A. Avery,	34 44
" " C. H. Graham,	5 00
Rome, " Dr. A. Blair,	2 50
Ripley, Ohio, A. S. Society, per J. Shephard,	27 00
South Bridgeton, Me., Gen. S. Perley,	20 00
" " Rev. J. P. Fessenden,	4 00
Scarsdale, N. Y., A Friend,	1 00
Tompkinsville, N. Y., per Wm. McGeorge,	1 13
Vernon, Ct., George Kellogg,	5 50
Valley, Pa., Rev. James Nourse,	1 00
Wattsburg, Pa., Rev. J. B. Wilson's Congregation,	2 88
York, N. Y., Individuals, per Wm. McCrackan,	54 62
	$972 57

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.

New York, June 21, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from May 1st, to June 1st, 1836.

Andover, Ohio, per A. Coleman,	$4 50
Brighton, N. Y., per Dr. W. W. Read,	3 13
Dartmouth College, per J. Lord,	2 00
Hudson, N. Y., per Miss M. Marriott,	5 77
Kingsboro, " per S. S. Wells, Esq.,	8 00
Loudoun, N. H. per Mr. Chamberlin,	5 00
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" "	1 90
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Rochester, " per Dr. W. W. Read,	21 37
Walton, " per A. P. St. John,	1 50
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" Voice of Freedom,	171 10
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" A. S. Record,	27 62
" Quarterly Magazine,	26 25
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R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, (No. 3 Spruce.)

Total, $1988 58

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. NO. VIII. AUGUST, 1836. WHOLE NO. 20.

COULD THEY TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES?

"GUARDIANSHIP! GUARDIANSHIP!! The slaves, as a body, are a poor, lazy, ignorant set of savages, so accustomed to depend upon their masters for the necessaries of life, that if suddenly freed they would not know how to take care of themselves, and would be inevitably plunged into much greater suffering than they now endure." Such is one of the arguments against paying wages for labor and yielding to people their just rights. Says J. K. Paulding on Slavery, page 277, "To set the slaves of the south at once, or at any time, free, must inevitably produce similar consequences to those which would result from suddenly withdrawing children from under the wing of the parent, and setting them adrift on the ocean of the world, without experience and without protection."

Well, *if* the slaves are unable to take care of themselves, no doubt they ought to be taken care of—common humanity requires it. The question is, *how* people, who are *supposed* to be unable to take care of themselves, should be taken care of. We cannot answer this question more to our own satisfaction than in the language of the law of the state of Mississippi in regard to "idiots, lunatics, and persons *non compos mentis*"—i. e., who have not mind enough to take care of their bodies. "The Orphans Court of each county in this state is hereby authorized and empowered, in their respective counties, on request made by the friends or relatives of any idiot, lunatic, or person *non compos mentis*, or by the overseer of the poor, for the district in which such idiot, &c., resides, by writ to direct the sheriff of said county to summon twelve good, discreet and lawful men of the county, and neighborhood of the residence of such persons, *to make inquisition thereto* on oath; and if the person said to be an idiot, &c., shall be adjudged by such inquest (or a majority of them) to be *incapable of taking care of himself or herself*, they shall certify the same, under their

hands and seals, to the Orphan's Court, and the said Orphan's Court shall *appoint* some suitable person or persons to be guardian or guardians to such idiot, &c.; directing and empowering such guardian or guardians to take care of the person and estate, both real and personal, of such idiot, &c. And the said guardian or guardians shall make a true and perfect inventory of the said estate, and return the same within the same time, and account with the Orphan's Court as often, and in the same manner as guardians to orphans are before directed by this act, and shall *give bond and security* in like manner; and the said court shall have the same power and control over such guardian or guardians, to all intents and purposes, as over guardians to orphans."—(*Revised Code of the Laws of Mississippi*, chap. 9, sec. 136. Natchez, 1824.) Another section of the same law makes it the duty of these guardians to render up the property and control of their wards, whenever in the judgment of the Orphan's Court such wards are able *to take care of themselves.*

To such sort of guardianship there can be no objection. It is not slavery. It does not entitle the guardian to use the labor and property of his ward without responsibility, and without reference to the rights of the owner. It does not allow him to transmit the ward and his offspring from generation to generation, to his posterity, along with his other goods and chattels. It does not allow him to whip out of him as much labor as he pleases. It is a temporary relation which ceases with the necessity which created it. If then it shall be proved that the slaves in Mississippi *cannot take care of themselves*, it will not follow that they ought to be retained in slavery another moment, but that they ought to have the benefit of the law above quoted.

But, are the slaves capable of taking care of themselves? As the Orphan's Courts do not seem likely to make any serious inquest into this matter, we propose to take up the inquiry to the best of our ability.

The question must be settled by FACTS. The *opinions* of all the slaveholders in the world cannot weigh a feather, because they are interested,—their guardianship is too profitable. The Rev. James Curtin, a missionary slaveholder of Antigua, when examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, in 1832, thought it would take "half a century" to fit the slaves of Antigua for freedom—the generality of them "would not do at all to be freed." But it has since been found that they were all fit on the 1st of August, 1834. Sir C. B. Codrington, who owned the whole population of the island of Barbuda, besides many hundred slaves in Antigua, wrote to Mr. Buxton

in 1832, that he would be glad to free his negroes, but his agent had written him that if he did so, not one fourth of them "would be alive at the end of two years."* They have been free two years, and the British public has not yet been troubled with any complaints of their starvation. The West India slaveholders, generally, predicted universal ruin as the effect of emancipation. Never were false prophets more signally put to shame. If the *opinions* of British slaveholders were worthless, why should we rely on those of American slaveholders?

Neither can we rely on the opinions and general statements of mere travelers and sojourners. Because a man has seen slaves with his own eyes, it does not follow that he is competent to pronounce against their ability *to take care of themselves.* His testimony is inadmissible in this court; 1, because the chance is, that he sympathizes with the class with which he associated; 2, because he may have been deceived by the slaves, who always pretend to more ignorance, recklessness and contentment than they really possess, for the sake of lightening their bondage. Stupidity is worth too much to the back and shoulders of a slave not to be counterfeited. It is the fate of most travelers and many of the masters to take a good deal of this counterfeit for true coin.

We shall appeal to *facts*, stated by the *advocates of slavery themselves*, or which have been open to their cross-examination.

I. *It is a general fact that the slaves industriously cultivate their own patches, after having performed all the labor required by their masters on the great plantation.* And this they do notwithstanding their allowance, which is said by their masters to be sufficient for their subsistence. The slaves in the British colonies received from their masters, as a general thing, only a few salt herrings weekly, and permission to labor one day every fortnight, besides Sundays, upon their provision grounds. And as they thus worked out their own subsistence by laboring not more than 78 days in the year, it was very rationally argued that they would be able and willing to get their living when allowed to work for themselves the whole 365. But it may be said, the West Indian slaves had been always trained to labor for themselves by necessity, hence when they were freed they had the habit of taking care of themselves, along with more abundant opportunity; whereas the American slave, having been accustomed to depend upon his master both for food and clothing, will be thrown upon the world

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. 5, p. 301.

with neither the forebodings of want nor the habits of providence. Let us for the sake of the argument grant that the allowance of the American slave is abundantly adequate to the supply of his animal wants; what say the witnesses?

The late Edwin C. Holland, Esq. of South Carolina, in his "Refutation of the Calumnies circulated against the Southern and Western States, respecting the institution and existence of Slavery among them," &c.—published in Charleston, (S. C.) 1822—has introduced the statements of a number of the most extensive planters in that state, in relation to the treatment of the slaves.

Benjamin D. Roper, Esq., says, "It is not uncommon for an industrious negro to have finished his task by three or four o'clock. In common, each hand is allowed to cultivate a task (patch?) on their own account, and time allowed them to prepare and plant their corn, peas, pompions, melons, &c. &c. In addition to this, sufficient ground contiguous to their dwellings is allowed them for gardens, from which many of them raise fruit and vegetables amply sufficient for their families. Many of the negroes raise hogs, ducks and fowls, and have their bee hives, whence they indulge themselves in some of the luxuries as well as conveniences of life," p. 50. This witness states this to be the general fact on plantations, so far as his "knowledge extends." And he adds in regard to these very slaves, that "they are fed half the year on corn, and the other half on potatoes—that their dwellings are commodious—that they enjoy as good medical attendance as the master and at his expense, and that "they are clad in winter with the best woollen plains, and in summer with osnaburgs." Please to weigh the testimony. The witness could have no motive to overrate the industry of the slave. If he has not overrated the liberality of the master, then he proves that the slave will labor with no other motive than to supply himself with luxuries and elegancies—if he has, still the slave labors with no other motive than to relieve his necessities.

Says Elias Horry, Esq., "Each grown negro is allowed a small field, say from a quarter to half an acre of land, or more if he desires it, which he plants, and the profits of which he appropriates exclusively to his own use. They are permitted to raise poultry of every description, which they either sell to their master or send to market. If they are called upon to do any extra work in their *own time*, they are regularly paid for it. In one instance I paid in one year to a carpenter belonging to me $150, for *extra* services of himself and two sons, in rearing the frames of five negro houses, I finding stuff," pp. 56, 57.

Still stronger is the testimony of GEORGE EDWARDS, Esq. Speaking of the slaves on his own plantation, he says, that their provision grounds are cultivated for them under the administration of his managers and drivers, and yet after this excess of *care for them*, the negroes still manifest a strong disposition *to take care of themselves*,—for he adds, "Independent of their crop, I permit them to raise hogs and poultry of every description, and many of them *supply themselves with bacon during the winter, and have hogs to dispose of*," p. 49. So it seems, let the planters take what care they will of their human property, that property always seizes every scantling of time and opportunity *to take care of itself.*

Similar testimony is to be found in Paulding's recent "Defence of Slavery." He introduces letters from two distinguished slaveholders in Virginia, in reply to a set of interrogatories which he had proposed, and himself vouches for the truth of the pictures which they present. One of his witnesses, "a gentleman possessing a large estate, and a very considerable number of slaves, in what is usually called Lower Virginia," thus speaks of the care which the slaves take of themselves in the time left at their own disposal. "A great many fowls are raised: I have this year known ten dollars' worth sold by one man at one time. One of the chief sources of profit is the fur of the muskrat; for the purpose of catching which the marshes on the estate have been parcelled out and appropriated from time immemorial, and are held by a tenure little short of fee simple," p. 192. Here are notions of property as well as provident industry among these poor *non compotes*, who do not know how to take care of themselves! Again, says the same witness, "Besides the food furnished by me, (and which he had just pronounced 'abundant,') nearly all the servants are able to make some addition from their private stores; and there is, among the adults, hardly an instance of one so *improvident as not to do it!*" p. 195. Mark this; the slaves are so *provident* that they add luxuries to *abundance*, and that by their spontaneous labor, *after* toiling enough to support their masters on the worn out tobacco-fields of lower Virginia! Could not these slaves, if they had nothing else to do, *take care of themselves?**

* The same witness states a fact on page 198, with comments, which show that the masters, rather than the slaves, mistake *idleness* for *liberty*. "My nearest neighbor," says he, "a man of immense wealth, owned a favorite servant, a fine fellow, with polished manners and excellent disposition, who reads and writes, and is thoroughly versed in the duties of butler and housekeeper, in the performance of which he was trusted without limit. This man was, on the death of his master, emancipated with a legacy of $6,000, besides about $2,000 more which he had been permitted to accumulate, and had

Another witness called to the stand by Paulding, expressly to contradict the falsehoods of the "Satanic abolitionists," is a Judge residing in the Virginia valley. His testimony in regard to the extra industry of the slaves in rearing hogs and poultry is the same as that already quoted. He says that any extraordinary diligence of the slaves during harvest-time "is more than made up by their being allowed, at its termination, a few days"—for what, do you think, reader?—is it to frolic and fish, like a New England farmer's boys—or to doze, like Hottentots, in the smoke of their cabins? No:—but "*to labor for themselves, or for others who have not finished, and from whom* THEY RECEIVE WAGES," p. 208.

Not one of all these witnesses pretends that the slaves are idle in their *own time*, or that they ever refuse to work for wages. Now if the love of wages, and of little additional comforts and luxuries, glimmering through the cracks and crevices which the general usurpation of the master has left, can excite the industry of the slave—can fructify his *patch* and fill his little garner—would he starve if that usurpation were taken off, and the broad sunshine of better motives let in? If while a slave, a man will labor freely for luxuries, will he not as a freeman labor, when he must, for necessaries?

II. *It is a general fact that the slaves that have been emancipated, either at home or abroad have always, when not forcibly prevented, taken good care of themselves.*

In these United States no class of our population is allowed to starve, or to suffer greatly from want.—If any individuals prove by their suffering that they are incapable of taking care of themselves, there are persons whose duty it is to take care of them. Now as but

deposited with his master, who had given him credit for it. The use that this man, apparently so well qualified for freedom, and who has had an opportunity of traveling and of judging for himself, makes of his money and his time, is somewhat remarkable. In consequence of his exemplary conduct, he has been permitted to reside in the state, (how generous in Virginia not to banish one of her sons, worth $8,000!) and for *very moderate* WAGES *occupies the same situation he did in the old establishment;* and will probably continue to occupy it as long as he lives. He has no children of his own, but has put a little girl, a relation of his to school. Except in this instance, and in the purchase of a few plain articles of furniture, his freedom and his money seem not much to have benefited him." We are on the verge of a discovery, gentle reader. The slaves are unfit for freedom, because, if they were free they would continue for "moderate wages," to occupy the "same situation" as before! Had this butler, with his $8,000, kicked up his heels, as soon as he got his liberty, bought race horses, lounged at watering places, drinked deep and played deeper—like some whiter men with less money—then he would have been a noble fellow, perfectly able to *take care of himself*,—nothing then, but his unfortunate color, would have stood between him and gentlemen of the highest circles. His freedom and his money would have been a great benefit to him!

a small portion of the free colored people are to be found in the care of these persons, the inference is inevitable that the rest are capable of taking care of themselves.

Slaveholders *accuse* the free colored people of the south of being an indolent and vicious part of the population, but at the same time they are obliged to confess a *cause* for this worthlessness which would not exist if slavery were abolished at once. Hear the testimony of John A. M'Kinney, Esq., of Tennessee: "Ever since that ill-fated day, when the first African slave set his foot on this continent, or at least since that day when the first manumitted slave walked abroad, claiming and seeking the privileges of a freeman, it was clearly perceived, that in a community *where slavery still remained*, it would be a source of countless ills, to have in the country a class of persons, who could neither be accounted bond nor free, and who could not be permitted to associate with either the master or the slave."—(*African Repository*, vol. 6, page 226.) Again, "If there is in the whole world a more wretched class of human beings than the free people of color in this country, I do not know where they are to be found. They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, *because* they have no motive to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honorable and praiseworthy conduct. *Let them be maltreated ever so much, the law gives them no redress, unless some white person happens to be present to be a witness in the case.* If they acquire property they hold it by courtesy of every vagabond in the country, and sooner or later *are sure to have it filched from them.*"—(*Ibid.* p. 228.)

So far as regards the *character* of the free colored people, this testimony is grossly false, as will presently appear; but for this very reason it is worthy of the more credit in regard to the *cause* which operates to depress this persecuted class. Mr. M'Kinney was advocating the banishment of the free colored people to Africa: of course he was tempted to make their *character* as bad as possible; he had no motive however to make out his white fellow-citizens any more cruel and unjust than they really are, but the reverse. Throughout all the south, free colored people are deprived of the benefit of colored witnesses, whenever a white is a party. They are everywhere subject to the danger of losing their liberty by the registration laws, their liberty being forfeited if their certificates of freedom be not duly registered, generally, once in three years. If the old certificate happen to be lost

so that it cannot be produced, it lies with the discretion of the court whether to grant them another, or permit them for the want of it to be imprisoned, and sold for *jail fees*. In Georgia a free negro can hold no real estate, nor can a white man hold it for his benefit without incurring a penalty of $1,000; he must be registered annually, and is compelled to work 20 days each year for the public, and pay $4 *extra* tax. Slaveholders have thought it the best argument in favor of slavery to point to emancipated people and say, "See, how much worse off than the slaves." And they have tried hard to *make this argument* as they have gone along. But they have failed. In spite of their cruel laws the emancipated people *have taken care of themselves*, so as to give slaveholders more trouble than all other causes put together. WILLIAM B. GILES, Governor of Virginia, addressed a long defence of slavery to General La Fayette, in 1829, from which we take the following extract:—"In relation to the free people of color, I am far from yielding to the opinion expressed by the intelligent Committee of the House of Delegates of Virginia, and the enthusiastic memorialists of Powhatan, respecting the degraded and demoralized condition of this *caste;*—at least in degree and extent. It will be admitted that this *caste* of colored population attract but little of the public sympathy and commiseration,—in fact, that the public feeling and sentiment are opposed to it. It is also admitted, that the penal laws against it have been marked with peculiar severity; so much so, as to form a characteristic exception to our whole penal code. When I first came into the office of Governor, such was the severity of the penal laws against that *caste*, that for all capital offences short of the punishment of death, and for many offences not capital, *slavery, sale and transportation*, formed the *wretched doom* denounced by the laws against this unfavored, despised *caste* of colored people." (How much happier then, according to Governor Giles, the lot of the free colored man after all, than the "wretched doom" of the slave!) "About two years since this extreme severity of punishment was commuted into the milder one of confinement and labor for stated periods in the penitentiary. I have also reason to fear, that under the influence of general prejudices, the laws, in some instances, have been administered against them more in rigor than justice. Yet, notwithstanding all these deprecated circumstances, the proportion of convicts to the whole population has been small. During the existence of those extreme punishments, up to the present period, the whole population of this description of people may be considered, at

the beginning, to be about 35,000, now increased to about 40,000—in despite of all the efforts of the Colonization Society, and notwithstanding the operation of the laws in favor of emigration, and against immigration.—During the existence of these extreme punishments, the annual convictions for offences did not exceed eleven, (11) upon an increasing population of 35,000.—Since the commutation of the punishment, the annual average of convicts upon the increased population of 40,000, is reduced to eight, (8) as will be seen by an official report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary, forwarded herewith. The proportion, therefore, of the annual convictions, to the whole population is as 1 to 5,000. These facts would serve to prove, almost to a demonstration; 1st, That this class of population is by no means so vicious, degraded and demoralized, as represented by their prejudiced friends (friends!) and voluntary benefactors. And 2d, That the evils attributed to this caste are vastly magnified and exaggerated."

These are *stubborn facts* against *opinions* and *prejudices*. If the free colored population were not in fact, very virtuous, industrious, useful, and well nigh indispensable, they would long since have been punished back into slavery, or banished from the State. The fact that under all their cruel disabilities they do increase by natural generation, is abundantly sufficient to show that they can *take care of themselves*.

Equally unfortunate are the slaveholders in appealing to the case of the free colored people in the free states. Though to our shame these people are under the ban of prejudice even here; though they are thrust away from the most respectable and lucrative employments, and made to labor at the greatest possible disadvantage, it is notorious that they get a better living and are less burdensome to the community than the poorer class of white people. The following testimony is from "The Friend," published in Philadelphia. "In the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, they (the colored) constituted about eleven per cent, or one ninth of the whole population. From the account of the guardians of the poor, printed by order of the Board, it appears that of the out-door poor receiving regular weekly supplies in the first month, 1830, the time of the greatest need, the people of color were about *one* to *twenty-three* whites; or not quite four per cent, a disproportion of whites to colored, of more than two to one in favor of the latter. * * * * * * * * One cause of this disproportion which we presume is but little known, but which is worthy of special notice, will be found in the numerous societies among themselves for mutual aid. These societies expended in one

year, about six thousand dollars for the relief of the sick and the indigent of their own color, from funds raised among themselves. * * * * * The taxes paid by the colored people of Philadelphia, exceed in amount the sums expended out of the funds of the city for the relief of their poor."

In the city of Pittsburgh there are 1,200 or 1,500 colored people, of whom the "Saturday Evening Visiter" of that city, says:—"It is but an act of justice to a majority of this people to state, that they are making good progress in knowledge and sound morals, and that they are doing much to educate their children well."

A mass of testimony to the same effect might be produced if we had room. It is sometimes said there are more convictions for crimes among our free colored population than among the whites in proportion to their numbers. This is true. But, first, it is unfair to compare the free colored to the *whole* white population. Let them be compared with an equal number of whites who have had the same advantages for obtaining property and education—to say nothing of the persecution of the colored man. Secondly, let crimes be compared in respect to their enormity. It will be found that the greatest criminals are among the whites. A single white man has frequently committed greater outrages upon social order, or depredations upon property, than all the colored men now in our prisons, put together. Our cities ought to know that when they refuse honest colored men licenses to drive carts and the like, they do in fact hold out a premium to crime.

The history of all the emancipations in the world shows that when people who have been compelled to take care of masters, are freed from that burden, they can and will easily *take care of themselves.* We must pass over emancipations in St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, Cayenne, Colombia, Mexico, Java, Cape of Good Hope, British West Indies, &c., in none of which did the emancipated find any difficulty in *taking care of themselves*, for want of room. There is, however, one very marked case of emancipation on record, to which as it is perfectly conclusive of the position that none are so ignorant or degraded as not to be able to take better care of themselves than any masters can be expected to take for them, we must refer.

It is universally contended by slaveholders, that fresh imported Africans are more ignorant and savage than any creole slaves. We are not disposed to deny it. Well, in 1828, there were in the island of Antigua about 400 Africans, that had been taken by British cruisers from the holds of captured slave ships. They were partly supported

in idleness by the Custom-House, and in part distributed among the inhabitants, nominally as apprentices, but really as slaves. They were altogether the lowest order of Helots in Antigua. By a despatch from the British ministry the Governor of Antigua was directed to apprize all these Africans that they should "be permitted to live in the colonies precisely on the same conditions as any other free persons of African birth and descent, so long as their own continued good conduct may render it unnecessary to resort to any measures of coercion." And certificates of liberty were ordered to be given to all "who should either have served out their apprenticeship, or who, not being apprenticed, should be reported capable of earning their own subsistence; and that none should hereafter be apprenticed who were not incapable of maintaining themselves by their own labor." In pursuance of these instructions the Governor of Antigua set free 371 of these people *in a single day.* This was in December 1828. On the 25th May 1829, the Governor Sir Patrick Ross, says in his official despatch, "It affords me much satisfaction to have the honor of reporting that during a period of five months which has expired since they were set at large, I have not received a single complaint against them; nor has one of them been committed by a magistrate for the most trifling offence. There has not, to my knowledge, been any application from them on the score of poverty, and they appear to be in general, industriously occupied in providing for their own livelihood." So well satisfied were the British ministry with this experiment, that they proceeded upon it to liberate all the slaves belonging to the crown in the various colonies—and with similar success. But the cream of the matter is, that the colonial agents in England, seeing that this satisfactory report was likely to lead to further consequences, wrote home to the Antigua legislature that the statement of Sir Patrick Ross must by all means be *disproved.* The legislature was roused to the flood-tide of slaveholding wrath, and after going through a mock investigation, *resolved* that the liberated Africans were, in spite of Sir Patrick Ross, a set of idle, worthless, profligate vagabonds! These *resolutions*, unbacked by a single fact or document, they transmitted to the ministry, and were by them reminded, that they had been authorized by the very instructions for the liberation of those people, to remove to Trinidad any of them who within seven years, "*should be convicted of theft, or any other offence against the peace of society,* or should be found seeking subsistence as a common beggar or vagrant, or should become chargeable on any parochial or public rates, except in case of sickness

or other inevitable accident." Yet the Antigua legislature had not taken measures *for the removal of a single one* of these vicious vagabonds. Nor had any case occurred in which such measures could be taken, up to April 25th, 1832!!

On this one fact we are willing to plant ourselves, and defy all the slanderers of our colored brethren in the universe. If 371 poor, ignorant, ill-assorted relics of the "middle passage" suddenly set adrift could get a living in the very teeth of a legislature of furious slaveholders, who dares say that there is a single plantation in the United States where slaves are too lazy, ignorant or stupid, to get a living if fair *wages* were offered them? Who dares say that the millions whose toil now supports their masters and fills the national coffers, would not, if permitted, *take care of themselves?*

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from June 21st to July 28th, 1836.

Andover Theol. Sem. per T. Duglass,	$4 00
Amesbury, Mass., Robert Scott,	2 00
" " Samuel Fielding,	2 00
Blissfield, Mich., B. H. Lewis,	1 00
Canada, a friend, per Jesse Talbot,	25 00
Carlisle, Pa., collection in a Sabbath school, per John Peck, Superintendent,	5 00
Connecticut friends, per Misses Smith	5 00
Great Falls, N. H., balance of pledge of $50, made May, 1833,	10 00
Hampton, Ct., collections on the 4th July, per Rev. S. J. May,	15 00
Hannibal N. Y., A. Rice, Esq.	5 00
" " John Sikes,	1 00
Middletown, Ct., A. S. S. on account of pledge, per J. G. Baldwin,	50 00
New York city, Messrs. Colton & Jenkins,	25 00
" Rev. L. Clark,	5 00
" J. W. Higgins, amount of pledge, made May, 1835, in behalf of colored people in Dey street church,	100 00
" Lewis Tappan,	115 52
" Peter Shapter,	5 00
" J. W. Hubbard,	1 00
" A. Tappan,	250 00
" R. G. Williams, on account of $100 pledge,	25 00
New Hampshire A. S. Society, per G. Kent,	100 00
Oberlin, Ohio, Wm. Lewis,	5 00
Philadelphia, Pa., J. Cassey	50 00
Perrysburgh, Ohio, Mrs. J. W. Smith,	10 00
Rome, N. Y., Dr. A. Blair,	6 00
Rupert, Vt., per A. Johnson,	1 63
Springfield, Ill., E. Wright,	2 50
Stratford, Ct., per Mrs. M. Curtis,	3 00
Salem, N. J., Abby Goodwin,	5 75
Sandy Hill, N. Y., little girls, per Miss S. Stow,	63
Washington, Pa. collection at the anniversary of the A. S. Society, July 4, 1836,	$7 22
" " F. J. & M. B. Le Moyne,	22 78
	$836 03

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.
New York, July 28, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from June 1st to July 1st, 1836.

Centreville, R. I., D. R. Curtis,	$4 00
Decatur, Ohio, Rebecca M'Coy,	1 50
Honeoisle, Pa., per Isaac P. Foster,	6 75
New York city, S. Angel,	3 00
" John Csmar,	25
" J. Carpenter,	75
" H. Owen,	25
" Miss P. Tucker,	13
Oneida Institute, per W. J. Savage,	6 09
Putnam, Ohio, per H. Nye,	5 00
Ripley, Ohio, S. Hemphill,	1 50
So. Hanover, Ia., J. G. Wilson,	1 50
Whitestown, N. Y., per John Wait,	10 00
Waterville, Me., J. M. Rockwood,	75
Received for the Emancipator,	176 62
" Voice of Freedom	133 73
" Human Rights,	51 33
" A. S. Record,	35 72
" Quarterly Magazine,	26 00
" Books and Pamphlets,	150 99
	$616 27

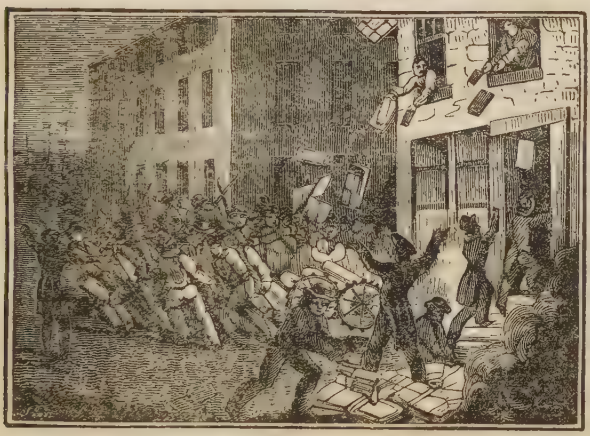
R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, (No. 3 Spruce.)

Total Receipts, $1502 30

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD

VOL. II. NO. IX. SEPTEMBER, 1836. WHOLE NO. 21



HOW CAN IT BE DONE?

IT is said, "the *principles* of the abolitionists may be true, but how can they ever effect their object? Slaveholders will not listen to argument. The whole North combined, would have no constitutional power to abolish slavery in a single slave state. Why then organize a force which can have no power to act?"

What is the meaning of that mob dragging off a broken *printing press?* What is the meaning of the crowd around yonder church, swearing and throwing stones at a peaceful lecturer? What is the meaning of the terror and indignation of slaveholders at the increase of abolitionists in the United States? These things certainly do *not* mean that slaveholders are afraid of losing their character by the *misrepresentations* of abolition presses and lecturers. If that were the fear, they have a hundred presses and lecturers to one. Nothing in the world would be easier than to overwhelm the abolition calumniators with disgrace by publishing the whole truth. Almost all the

commercial and political papers at the North, to say nothing of their own, and the majority of our clergy of all denominations, are ready and anxious to defend them. *Truth is great and will prevail*, every body knows. Suppose a little spiteful periodical is set up to oppose some fair and honorable business; how soon it goes down! Nobody flounces; nobody raises a mob. The party attacked simply gives the public the truth, through the ordinary papers, and the assailant soon descends to the land of forgetfulness. Or, the same thing is calmly done in a court of law. Now, if the slaveholders feared *misrepresentation* or *calumny*, they would have taken this course, or instructed their friends, the mobocrats, to take it.

Again, the slaveholders do not fear that printing and lecturing on slavery at the North will excite their slaves to rebellion. If they did, they would not copy column after column of the abolition papers into their own. Says one of their own papers, the United States Telegraph, "We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection." When a man has friends to fight his battles for him, there is less danger of his fighting himself. The slaveholders of Jamaica charged the last insurrection of the slaves in that island upon the abolitionists; but how did it turn out? It was found to be undeniable that the insurrection was caused by the *slaveholders themselves* refusing to take any measures for the ultimate relief of the slaves, and their threat that they would transfer their allegiance from Great Britain to America, provided parliament should interfere in behalf of the slaves!

Again, the slaveholders do not fear a physical attack from the North—a liberty crusade. They are too courageous for that. Besides, if they did fear it, they would be afraid of hastening it by these mobs. What, then, *is* the reason why slaveholders excite their friends and allies to destroy abolition presses, and interrupt abolition lecturers? It is this, they know that abolition papers and lectures will convince people that slavery is *sinful;* and when that is done, they can hold slaves no longer, consistently with their own reputation and peace of mind.

Hear what the great apostle of slavery, Gen. Duff Green, says about this matter:

"We are of those who believe that the South has nothing to fear from a civil war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that *we have most to fear from the organized action upon the* CONSCIENCES AND FEARS OF

THE SLAVEHOLDERS THEMSELVES; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies *into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles.* It is only by alarming the *consciences* of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among OUR OWN PEOPLE a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief, that slavery is a 'sin against God;' that the national compact involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from, what they term, 'its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.' "

Does Gen. Duff Green, or any other slaveholder, or any other man of sense, regard this *preparation* as vain and idle? Do the mobocrats themselves regard the printing and lecturing of the abolitionists as vain and inefficacious? Certainly not. If they did, they would endeavor so to persuade their principals at the South. The mobocrats, who destroyed Mr. Birney's press in Cincinnati, were men of the first standing in society; men who well understand the power of the press. They well knew that their enterprise was peculiarly delicate and dangerous. They knew that the mob they were cheering on, might soon turn its fury upon themselves. But their Southern trade was in danger. Something must be done. And they ventured on a step which will damn them to everlasting infamy. Would they have done so if they had believed Mr. Birney was laboring against slavery all in vain? No; they knew that every number of the Philanthropist made slaveholding less reputable, and hastened its downfall. They knew it was troubling the consciences of their Southern customers. They saw no hope of participating in the gains of slavery, except by trampling out the fire while they could.

Now, we have the clearly expressed opinion of the slaveholders themselves, and of their intelligent and humble servants, the mobocrats, that the presses and the lecturers, *if they are suffered to go on,* will overthrow slavery by acting upon the *consciences* of slaveholders, and that they have very properly commenced the work at the North. The question remains, whether this course of measures can be put down. It evidently cannot be put down by *law,* for the very reason why *mobs* are resorted to is, that the law is insufficient. The constitution guarantees *freedom of speech and of the press.* Can the abolitionists be put down by mobs? It would seem to be the opinion of very wise men that they can be. A great many mobs have been excited, and always by distinguished men. Yet the event has, thus far, remarkably failed to prove the wisdom of the authors. In every

instance the abolitionists have been the gainers. It is in every body's mouth that a persecuted cause is sure to gain. And, if we mistake not the signs of the times, there is not likely to be any lack of persecution.

But perhaps some of the very cautious will not be willing to rely on this strong testimony of slaveholders themselves, to the efficacy of abolition measures. To such, we must suggest some other considerations.

What was the condition of the South, and of the slavery question, when the abolitionists commenced their labors? What lesson had experience taught? Why, manifestly, slavery was rapidly increasing, striking its roots deeper in the soil, and throwing its branches wider in the air. The reputation of the South was high. Nothing was more respectable than to have gone to the South and become a slaveholder. Still it must not be supposed that there was no opposition to slavery. For years there had been the very same cautious, prudent, unprovoking opposition to slavery, which is now recommended to the abolitionists. Slavery had not flourished from any want of arguments to prove its sinfulness, "in *the abstract*." It was not for the want of *argument* against it, indeed, that it was commenced in the first place. It was begun and continued in open defiance of that Christianity which, eighteen hundred years ago, pronounced all men of one blood. It would, therefore, have been most childish folly in the abolitionists to have expected to convert slaveholders by mere *argument*. They never expected to do any such thing. They never expected to conquer with weapons, which in a thousand trials had always *failed*.

New England boasts to have been *always* opposed to slavery. In *argument* she may have been, for aught we know; but we assert, fearless of contradiction, that till the year 1830, there was not one of her villages where it did not add to a man's credit, in the general estimation, to pass for a *southerner* and a *slaveholder*. There was balm enough in this respectability to heal all the consciences wounded by the prudent and "*good spirited*" arguments against slavery in the abstract.

What, then, with the light of experience, was the course struck out by the abolitionists? It was to denounce slaveholding as a sin in all circumstances, and place the determined slaveholder on the list of felons, as worthy to be excluded from the society of honest men as the pickpocket, the counterfeiter, or highway robber. It was to begin at the North with the people who profess to be opposed to slavery, and yet gape, and admire, and bow the knee to the haughty southern nabob, who comes among them upon his summer ramble, flush with the *hire* that has been kept back from the laborer. It was to proclaim

that any other unrepenting criminals might as well be admitted to the church of Christ, as those who are guilty of making merchandise of His people. It was to proclaim, in high places and low places, that slaveholding is only a comprehensive kind of STEALING, in which the thief takes owner and all, from generation to generation. It was to brush away, with the besom of common sense, the notion that such iniquity ever could be *justified by law*. It was to combine against it all men of all sects and parties, whose minds were open to truth and their hearts sensible to humanity. Will such a course succeed in reforming the slaveholder? No, say the would-be wise men. If you would convince the slaveholder, you must not call him a felon. You must approach him courteously; you must not exasperate him; you must remember that "a drop of molasses will catch more flies than a hogshead of vinegar;" your words must be smoother than oil—just as if all this be-slabbering with holy flattery was going to convince any body, after having been tried in vain for fifty years! But the question is, whether the slaveholder *is* a felon or not. Arguments must be adapted to the character which is to be influenced. The reproof which would be very effectual with a moral youth, who had for the first time given way to strong drink or bad company, would be lost upon the hoary sot or the confirmed gambler. If slaveholders *are* guilty of a worse felony than highwaymen, it is very absurd to approach them smilingly, and reason the matter as if they were high-minded, honorable, and honest men. The smile destroys the argument. If we are so bad as your argument makes us, they may well say, why treat us with so profound respect, why commune with us as Christians, why stand in fear of calling us by our right names? Crime is crime, no matter how much it may be respected, and it always hardens the heart. The longer it is indulged in, the less susceptible is the heart to reproof. If any thing can reclaim the hardened criminal, and bring him to true repentance, it is *the whole truth*. It may exasperate, it may call forth a tempest of wrath, but it will be, after all, more powerful than all the flattery in the world to convince of sin. Especially is this the case when the truth is spoken by the whole world. Slaveholders have had the public sentiment of the world in their favor. Bolstered up by it, they have bid defiance to what they have pleased to term a handful of *fanatics*. It is very easy for them to say, that they would not be persuaded though the whole North should become abolitionists. When the North shall have become so, they will be in *new circumstances*. The lying smiles which feed their

vanity will be no more. The last echo of that monstrous lie, the "noble chivalry of the South," will have died away. The rust of the gold and silver, which they ought to have paid to their poor laborers, will eat their flesh "as it were fire." Let a slaveholder present himself any where among honest men—it will instantly be whispered in his ear, *go home and pay your laborers.* Nay, it will not need to be whispered, he will read it on every face he meets. *Go home and pay your laborers*, PAY YOUR LABORERS, PAY YOUR LABORERS, will ring in his ears till he will be glad to get back to the land of tasks, whip-carrying overseers, and human-flesh auctions. And even there his ears will be full of the echoes, PAY YOUR LABORERS, PAY YOUR LABORERS, *pay your laborers!* Talk of the honor, peace, dignified leisure of the wealthy southern planter, in such a state of things! Why, the fiction is forever exploded. The slaveholder sees in every strange face the mirror of his crime. Not to know a man, is to suspect him of being an *abolitionist.* There is more fear of the abolitionists at the South, even now, than there would be of ten thousand assassins, were they known to be lurking through that country with poniards and pistols, bent upon murder. Oh! that dreadful poisonous heresy, that *men ought to be paid for their work!* Never did Holy Inquisition have more trouble with a heresy, than the slaveholders have with that. They may as well bid an everlasting adieu to sleep, when this heresy shall have got full possession of the North. The intercourse of the people of the South and North can no more be stopped, than that of the north and south winds. Unless God works a miracle to prevent it, slavery cannot stand after the northern half of the country becomes fully saturated with the doctrine of immediate emancipation.

Here we have not taken into the account the Divine influence which accompanies *truth.* No wonder that the old system of dealing with slaveholders made no converts. It may have been very kind and charitable, and well meant, but it was a system of *flattery.* God does not help such a system. He sets his seal upon the truth. There has not been, in the history of the world, an instance of the reformation of a people from any corrupt or wicked practice, effected by flattering language and concealment of the truth. Both prophets and apostles held the language of stern rebuke towards the wrong-doers with whom they had to deal. Peter did not scruple to call those *murderers* whom he would convert, and yet they were converted by thousands. But we need not cite examples to prove that honest, plain dealing

is the only dealing that has ever had power over wicked men. It is not for us to say, whether or not the slaveholders of the United States have sinned away their day of grace; but if they have not, we are sure that the truth is the only thing that God will ever bless to their conversion. That he has blessed and is blessing the truth already, there are abundant indications.* Who is now pleading the cause of the slave, with perhaps more effect than any other man? James G. Birney, Esq., a converted slaveholder, who has emancipated his slaves. But, it is absurd to look for fruit before the tree has had time to fix its roots in the soil. The city of New York has voted several millions of dollars to bring the Croton river to supply its inhabitants with water. Many thousands of dollars have been already expended, and yet the people who peddle water in carts go about the streets, and may take up their proverb, and say to the honorable corporation, "Show us what you have done. You have spent floods of money, but not a drop of water has come from it all. Pray let us have something practical. Till you show us the water spouting from the pipes, we shall never believe that New York can be supplied with water but by selling it at *one cent per bucket!*"

* The following is from the Philanthropist, edited by Mr. Birney, April 1, 1836:

"It is frequently said by our opponents that the doctrines of abolition have not released a single slave from his bonds. This is not strictly correct, *now*, as every one will see, nor has it been at any time, since the charge was made. We will give the number—and we wish it was larger—that have been emancipated to our own knowledge, and as we believe, through the influence of the doctrine above mentioned. Should other cases be known as having occurred, or should any hereafter occur, we shall feel obliged to any one who will give us information of them, that they may be published.

John Thompson, Jessamine co. Ky.	emancipated	2.
James G. Birney, (then) Mercer.	"	6.
James M. Buchanan,	"	3.
Andrew Shannon, (minister) Shelby co.	"	5.
Mrs. Meaux, Jessamine co.	"	1.
Samuel Taylor, (minister) do.	"	1.
Peter Dunn, Mercer co.	"	2.
Arthur Thome, Bracken co.	"	14.

"A Mr. Doake, of Tennessee, as we are informed, emancipated a family of slaves in consequence of a conversation with an abolitionist now living in Ohio. We do not know what number made up the family. They came to Ohio—and when the colored man, who was the father of it, first saw Mr. R., to whose instrumentality is attributed the manumission of himself and family, he shed, abundantly, tears of joy and gratitude. Can slaveholding confer such heartfelt pleasure, as that enjoyed by Mr. Doake, Mr. R——, and the happy family made free by the *Truth?*"

We have good reason to believe that this schedule contains but a small part of the slaves that have been emancipated in consequence of the labors of the abolitionists. Indeed, if we are not mistaken, as many more have been emancipated by three individuals, one in Tennessee, one in Virginia, and one in Missouri. At the present price of slaves, there is no doubt but the slaves already emancipated by the doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society, would, if purchased, have cost more than the whole income of that society since it came into existence.

But what if slaveholders can never be convinced? What if they are past the reach of abolition arguments? Does it follow that the Anti-Slavery Society ought to disband itself, or alter its course, or slacken its pace? By no means. Slavery, wherever it exists, is dangerous to liberty everywhere. Slaveholding is a contagious evil. Slavery in Russia as much concerns us as the plague or the cholera would in the same country. If we could not suppress those diseases there, it would become us to guard ourselves against them. Much more would it, if they were ravaging one half of our own country. Now, what safeguard have the millions of our laborers and mechanics, and the tens of millions of their posterity, that they shall be *free*, and at liberty to set their *own price* on their *own labor*, but the great principle which they have been taught to consider as the foundation of our happy government, that *all men are born free and equal?* In one half of our own Union, to which we are bound with cords that are called sacred, this great principle is *practically* set at nought. Slaveholders, whose voice is law at the south, despise the principle from the bottom of their proud hearts. They not only despise the principle, but they despise the laborer. They despise the whole north, because its hills and valleys are cultivated by those who own them. They have the impudence to recommend to our capitalists and rich men their own system of getting work without wages. Let every free laborer read the following paragraphs from the last annual message of George M'Duffie, governor of South Carolina, and judge whether his rights are in no danger from slavery.

"Reason and philosophy can explain what experience so clearly testifies. If we look into the elements of which all political communities are composed, it will be found that *servitude* in some form, is one of the essential constituents.

"No community has ever existed without it, and we may confidently assert none ever will. In the very nature of things there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society, from the highest to the lowest. Some of these offices are regarded as degrading, though they must and will be performed. Hence those manifold forms of dependent servitude which produce a sense of superiority in the masters or employers, and of inferiority on the part of the servants. Where these offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is obviously introduced into the body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the rights of property, by agrarian legislation, which is beginning to be manifest in the older states, where universal suffrage prevails without domestic slavery; a tendency that will increase in the progress of society, with the increasing inequality of wealth. No government is worthy the

name that does not protect the rights of property, and no enlightened people will long submit to such a mockery. Hence it is that in older countries different political orders are established to effect this indispensable object; and it will be fortunate for the non-slaveholding states, if they are not, in less than a quarter of a century, driven to the adoption of A SIMILAR INSTITUTION, or to take refuge from robbery and anarchy under a military despotism."

Against this abominable doctrine, what voice has been raised through the whole south? Not a whisper. If there is a heart there that rejects it, it is the poor, fettered, trammelled, bruised, broken heart of the slave. The man who wears, we do not say *owns*, that heart, may be *white*, but he is a *slave!* This doctrine of M'Duffie is the doctrine of the south. There is not a man in her *thirteen republics* that dares stand up and deny it. And this is the country to which we are indissolubly linked—to which we were wedded before heaven and earth, and yet we are not to proclaim our abhorrence of slavery! Do we need the gift of prophecy to see that on such terms we shall soon find ourselves in that condition of laborers recommended by governor M'Duffie? Let it be understood we do not object to UNION with the south, but to the TERMS on which they tell us we must purchase it. If we had known at first that our interference, so far as the slaves were concerned, would be ineffectual, it would still have been our duty to act as we have done, for conscience does not allow men to be silent when such iniquity is perpetrated before their eyes; but in the course of our interference it has come to light, that the slaveholders, so far from thinking of giving up their own slavery, were engaged in a secret crusade against *our liberty.* We had a right from nature, guarantied to us by the constitution of our country, to express, in such terms as we pleased, our abhorrence of slavery. We have dared to use the right. And what has been the result? A display of tyranny as atrocious and detestable as was ever enacted in Babylon, Rome, Constantinople, or Moscow—as bad as the worst doings of Herod or Nero. The south demands that our mouths shall be *gagged by law*, that nobody shall discuss the subject without her leave. To back up her demands, she flogs or murders every northern citizen within her limits,* whom she pleases to suspect of abolitionism. She offers rewards for the heads of peaceable citizens. On the strength of open *perjury*,† she demands northern citizens to be delivered up to her as criminals. But

* See the case of Amos Dresser, flogged at Nashville, and Abbe Dean and others, hung *without trial* in Mississippi.

† The grand jury of Tuscaloosa county (Ala.) found, under *oath*, that R. G. Williams, who had never been in Alabama, was a *fugitive from* that state.

the tyranny nas not been all at the south. The northern aristocracy have done their part. The most influential presses of the principal cities have taken the side of the slaveholder in the same lawless and murderous spirit. By the most shameless falsehood they have raised mobs against the abolitionists, rifled their houses, sacrilegiously broken open their churches, and invaded their peaceful and lawful assemblies with clamor and missiles. Look at five thousand men in the city of New York, with the rage of incarnate devils, pouring in upon a defenceless meeting of "twenty-two men and two women," on the 5th of September, 1833! Look at all the daily editors, except one, in the same city, applauding the outrage upon an abolition meeting on the 4th of July, 1834! See the scenes that followed five or six days after! Look at the murderous outrages upon the colored people of Philadelphia in the next month! Consider well the committee of twenty-five honorable aristocrats of the city of Utica, who, by violence and lies, broke up a peaceful convention in that city on the 22d of October, 1835; and the five thousand gentlemen of "property and standing" in Boston, who, by brickbats and hard swearing, broke up a meeting of *ladies* on the same day, and dragged a citizen through the streets with a rope, for the crime of printing against slavery. Do not forget the *imitations* of these outrages in almost every considerable village in the land! Study the last mob in Cincinnati—the great men of that city—civil authorities, mayor and all, dragging Mr. Birney's *printing press* to the Ohio river! Study the whole, as having occurred in a land of light and law! Study it in its political aspect—the south *as one man* standing up, whip in hand, and saying to both political parties at the north—"gag the wretches or take this—make an end of them, or we fling away your candidate for the presidency!" We appeal now to plain common sense, would the slaveholders of the south and their party among us, have put themselves to all this trouble against the abolitionists, if it were not their intention to cram *slavery* down our throats as fast as possible? No. The gentlemanly mobocrats among us are determined to have, as M'Duffie says, "servitude in some form," and they have no great horror of that form which exists at the south.

The mere discovery of this grand plot against our liberties and the hopes of mankind, is worth a thousand times more than it has cost; and, till the whole conspiracy is crushed, there will be work enough for the Anti-Slavery Society. Whether we can succeed in breaking the fetters of the slave or not, there is something to do to keep the

same galling irons from our own limbs. The tendency of riches and power always has been to the oppression of the laborer, and liberty has flourished only where a struggle has been kept up for it—only where its great principles have been constantly flashed in the face of the oppressor—only when the subjects of oppression have been kept alive to their rights. In maintaining the rights of the slave, we are maintaining our own and our children's. Never shall we yield the former till we have made up our minds to give up the latter. The day when we cease to speak and print the self-evident truth that he who "useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work," is a tyrant and a felon, and no Christian at all—will be the day when our tongues are cut out and our hands pinioned; it will be the day when we are reduced to the sad condition of our colored brethren—mere disposable property.

The last argument, and it is the strongest of all, which we shall offer, to show that anti-slavery measures will overthrow slavery, is the very fact that slaveholders have been exasperated by them, and wrought up to frantic madness. Passion is not a lasting principle. The rage of the south has effected two things. 1. It has exposed to the whole world the wickedness of slavery. 2. It has placed the slaveholders themselves in a position where they must consider and weigh the arguments of the abolitionists whether they will or not. If I listen coolly to a reprover and let him go his way, I may forget his reproof. But if I fall into a passion and kick him out of doors, I shall never be able to forget *why* I did it. The chances are mightily increased that the reproof will haunt me till it drives me to repentance.

BASENESS NOT UNPARALLELED.—The Norfolk Herald of August 17, gives an account of a colored father selling his own children, and filled with a just indignation, is at a loss for epithets to characterize the depravity of the act. But the baseness is not, as the Norfolk Herald supposes, unparalleled. The editor of that print need not have gone far to find very respectable white fathers who have sold their own children. It is not an uncommon practice among slaveholders. We have seen more than one man who had been sold by his own father, and we once saw a father who, having sold the mother to a New Orleans trader three years before, was on his way to the same city with his four children, as *they* believed and we have no doubt, to sell them into the same bondage. Miss Grimké, herself a southern woman. charges this practice upon the whites of the South.—See her Appeal,

Is it any wonder that colored people should sometimes follow the example of baseness set them by the honorables of the *upper* caste? It is rather remarkable that they do so no oftener. Here is the account from the Herald.

"Unparalleled baseness shall we call it? The term is not sufficiently significant, nor can we conjure up an epithet to characterize the features of depravity belonging to a transaction which has just been related to us. Let the reader judge. A white man, whose name we withhold for the present, arrived here a few days ago in a small craft from Richmond, having with him a negro man and two boys. He offered the boys for sale to several persons, but the price, seven hundred dollars, being thought too high, he lowered it to four hundred and fifty dollars, which induced a suspicion that he had not come honestly by them; but to this suspicion was opposed the ready declaration of the negro man, that Mr. ——— had bought him and the two boys, who were his children, in Petersburg. Still, however, it was thought proper to investigate the matter, and the white man with the negroes were taken to the mayor's office, when the truth came out, that the negro was a free man, belonging to Petersburg; that the boys, also free, were his own children, and that he had entered into a compact with the white monster to carry the children abroad and sell them and divide the money."

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from July 29th to August 16th, 1836.

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society,	$200 00
" C. C. Burleigh, $35 on last year's pledge, and $10 on this year's	45 00
" from Friends,	97
Chester, Vt., Jesse Stedman,	10 00
Danvers, Mass., Abner Sanger,	100 00
Fall River, Mass., A. S. Sewing Society,	10 00
" Ladies' A. S. Society,	30 00
" from Friends,	12 85
" A. S. Society,	352 00
" Sarah G. Buffum,	20 00
Fair Haven, Ms., A. S. Society,	50 00
" a Friend.	5 00
Hudson, N. Y., A. S. S., per H. D. Humphries,	25 00
" " H. P. Skinner,	1 00
Lynn, Mass., Female A. S. Society,	20 00
" " A. S. Society,	182 00
Monroe co., N. Y., A. S. S., per G. A. Avery,	50 00
" " " "	84 75
Massachusetts, loaned by a Friend,	1000 00
North Yarmouth, Me., collection 4th July,	5 00
New-York City, Henry Keep,	200 00
" Young Men's A. S. Society, pledge of 1835,	100 00
" Towards pledge of 1836,	200 00
" People of color, per Rev. S. E. Cornish, $10, $50, $52,	112 63
New Bedford, Mass., A. S. Society, including some donations from individuals not members of the society, and $61 from the people of color,	452 68
Norwich, Ct., Ladies' A. S. Society,	11 80
Pompey Hills, N. Y., per Rev. J. Gridley,	3 00
Pennsylvania, Robert Purvis, ass't of pledge,	50 00
Rochester, N. Y., Female A. S. Society, per Mrs. Mathews,	50 00
Springfield, Ky., Rev. Samuel Lynn,	5 00
Sandwich, Mass., A. S. S., towards pledge,	50 00
Taunton, Mass., a Friend,	50
" " J. Hodges,	5 00
Troy, N. Y., Gurdon Grant,	46 00
Uxbridge, Mass., Female A. S. S., pledge,	50 00
	$3648 55

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.
New York, August 28, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from July 1st to August 1st, 1836.

Amesbury, Mass., per J. A. Sargent,	$8 00
Darien, Ct., S. W. Raymond,	4 50
Newark, N. J., Dr. J. M. Ward,	3 00
New-York, H. Owen,	25
" H. Davidson,	25
" J. Usmar,	25
" Miss P. Tucker,	12
" A female,	1 25
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" Human Rights,	52 00
" A. S. Record,	5 75
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SLAVERY AS IT IS IN PRACTICE.

We have before us two documents penned by persons who have long resided in slave states, and know all about slavery as it is in practice. One of them is the reply of a "member of the Synod of Kentucky," understood to be President Young, to the vindication of slavery by Rev. Professor Hodge, of Princeton. The other is Dr. Nelson's address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky and Tennessee. From these documents, which none who know the authors will dare to call in question, we proceed to quote a few facts, to illustrate the wickedness of slavery, *as it is in practice.* Professor Hodge says, it is not *necessarily sinful* to hold a fellow-man in bondage. That is, if you give him a "fair compensation for his labor," respect his "marital rights," and allow him "free scope" for "improvement," you may, without *sin*, hold him in a condition in which he is every moment liable to be sold as a brute and stripped of all! Just as if there were any such things as "fair compensation," &c. in such a condition! In this absurd sentiment, President Young seems inclined to agree, so far as regards *theory;* but by undeniable facts he proves that it amounts to nothing in *practice.* Hear what he says about the PRACTICE—the practice of CHRISTIAN masters.

Let us compare the conduct of Christian masters with what the reviewer admits to be their duty. They are bound, he tells us, to grant to their slaves *full* COMPENSATION for their services; to avoid all separations of husbands and wives, parents and children; and *to use diligent efforts for their intellectual and moral improvement,* as well as for their physical comfort. "Christianity enjoins a fair compensation for labor; it insists on the intellectual and moral improvement of all classes of men; it condemns all infractions of marital or parental rights; in short, it requires not only that free scope should be allowed to human improvement, but that all suitable means should be employed for the attainment of that end." Again—"Let Christians enforce as moral duties the great principles of justice and mercy, and all the specific commands and precepts of the Scriptures. If any set of men have servants, bond or free, to whom they refuse a proper

compensation for their labor, they violate a moral duty and an express command of Scripture." Again—"The principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire and should enjoy it, is a plain principle of morals and command of the Bible, and cannot be violated with impunity." These are statements in which we most heartily concur. They present eternal truths, by which every man, who holds his fellows in bondage, must be judged. But is the treatment which Christianity is here admitted to require, ever exhibited? *Possibly—possibly in some rare cases.* An extensive acquaintance with Christian masters enables us to point to not more than three or four who are acting, in this matter, on the principles of the Gospel. There is not one in a hundred, with whom we have ever become acquainted, who, if solemnly appealed to, could declare that he is even making an approximation to his duty, or giving any thing like a fair compensation for the services rendered by his slaves. If we admit the principles laid down by our reviewer to be the principles which religion inculcates, and on which it is every man's duty to act, the question whether the mere holding of a fellow-man in bondage is right or wrong, is no longer one of any practical moment to the mass of slaveholders. *They are sinning deeply, whether this question be decided in one way or the other.* The reviewer is but a nominal defender of *slaveholding*—he is not even a nominal defender of *the conduct of slaveholders;* for while he shows that the holding of men in bondage may, under certain circumstances, be innocent, he at the same time fully shows the sinfulness of the treatment received by their slaves from almost every Christian master. This fact ought to be distinctly recognised. For we have often observed, how strangely men pervert and abuse the reasoning which proves that the mere holding of slaves is not *necessarily* sinful. They appear to consider that the proof of this position warrants them in all their customary doings. Because God's word does not denounce power over our fellow man as, in all cases, unlawful, they seem to feel that they are allowable in taking the services of those who are under them without compensation, and in utterly neglecting their moral and intellectual advancement. They do not appear to observe that the asserters of the *possible* innocence of slaveholding, admit its criminality in the cases of all masters, who are neglecting the duties of compensation and improvement. The abolitionist denies the right of the master over his slaves, and condemns him for holding them: the advocate of the master asserts the right to hold, but condemns him for the unjust exercise of his power. The abolitionist denounces the master as a violator of that law of the Lord, which forbids man-stealing; the advocate of the master clears him of this charge, but leaves him convicted of breaking another equally express and sacred injunction—"Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's service without wages." What would be the effect of a practical recognition, by slaveholders, of the scriptural doctrine of a full compensation to the laborer? They would feel that nearly all that was valuable to them in slavery was gone. Unrequited labor is the ingredient in it which makes the compound, called slavery, agreeable to any man. Extract this ingredient, and what is left is a caput mortuum, which its possessor loathes, and from which he would seek to escape. The master

now enjoys the services of his slaves without paying for them. To give them wages, would be, to relinquish the only profit of his ownership—it would be paying for that which he now gets for nothing. The worth of a slave to his master arises from the legal right which the master has to appropriate to himself the proceeds of the slave's labor; and if the master's views of morality should prevent his availing himself of his legal right, the slave is no longer worth any thing to him—he might as well, as far as his own interest was concerned, emancipate at once. Nothing but benevolence towards the servant, or an unfounded fear lest he might not be able to secure his voluntary services if he were freed, could induce a master to retain in bondage one to whom he was rendering a full equivalent for his services. We scarcely believe that any one, who is not engaged in measures of emancipation, will claim to be acting on the principle of fair compensation. But lest, perchance, any one should deceive himself on this point, we will exhibit some data from which we may infer what action the adoption of this principle would demand. A fair compensation for any article is its current price. To remunerate a laborer fairly, would be, to give him what his services would command in the market. In Kentucky, an ordinary hand will hire from seventy-five dollars, up to one hundred and twenty. The master freed from charges for food, clothing and medical attendance, receives this amount as the clear profit of his ownership. If these are the wages which a slave can earn, if hired out, ought not the master, when he retains his services on his own farm, or in his own shop, to render, on the principles of the reviewer, this amount of compensation? Ought he not to give to the servant the nett profits of the servant's own labor? A great many reasons can be urged by ingenious men, to show why the master ought not to grant this remuneration. . But they all amount to the reason said to have been assigned by a celebrated English divine, for retaining two livings, when he could only perform the duties of one—"I cannot afford to keep a conscience."

In the region where we reside there is no pretension to the merit of compensation. Every one knows that among us there is, except in some rare instance, nothing of the kind. But it may be said that, in some parts of the south, slave labor yields so little, that a bare support is all which a master can afford to give as remuneration. The daily task of some southern slaves is not, we are told, more than one third of the work which a white man will perform at the north. With these small tasks, they cannot be supposed to earn more than their food and raiment. We grant, in fact, that they frequently do not perform more than one-third of the work which they are capable of executing. But why is it? Simply, *because they receive no remuneration.* Like ourselves, they cannot work without proper stimulus, and this is not presented. The fear of the whip can do much; but it cannot communicate such an impulse as the hope of reward: besides, the operation of the latter is healthful to the bodily system, producing permanent vigor, ease, and rapidity of muscular movement, while the operation of the former ultimately produces sluggishness, torpor, and exhaustion. And when humanity prevents a master from that vigorous application of the lash which is usual at the south, the amount of

uncompensated labor performed, naturally sinks towards the minimum of the laborer's support. The slaves well know that even their *Christian* masters never dream of remunerating them for their services. All the proceeds of their labor, over and above what is required to support themselves, go to their master. They naturally, then, feel that it is their interest to do as little as possible. They know that despatch in the performance of their task would be followed by an increase of their task. An increase of industry on their part would, they well know, be productive of gain, not to themselves, but to their masters. But if a task were assigned to them, whose results would be about an equivalent to the cost of their support, and the remainder of their time, after its daily completion, could be guarantied to them, to be employed perpetually for their own benefit, a new scene would open upon the eye of the master. And is a man now to set up a claim to being a compensator, because the operation of the system of injustice and oppression on which he has been acting, has reduced its victims to that point of indolence and negligence, where they will only raise enough to clear their own and their master's necessary expenses? The facts prove, not that he strives to elevate his slaves, but that his system tends to degrade them—not that he acts justly towards them, but that his injustice is not, in the long run, very profitable. Instead of complacently hugging himself in the idea of his being a compensator, he ought immediately to set in operation a system of measures which would lift them from the degrading indolence and imprudence into which his past treatment has plunged them.

SLAVEHOLDING MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

From the same document we extract the following facts to show what is the natural influence of the gospel ministry at the south. Is any one so blind as to expect slavery to be overthrown by Christianity under such teachers, or under a church which tolerates them?

Few, indeed, scruple to sell their slaves to the south, as soon as they find their labor unprofitable. And can such men talk of discharging their duty to their slaves? Can they inveigh against the abolitionists, because, forsooth, they hinder them in their benevolent exertions for the negro's improvement? Can they denounce immediate emancipation, because it is fraught with evils to the colored man? They practise imposition upon others—we trust, too, upon themselves. Interest, sheer interest, regulates their conduct towards their bondman. They regard him as a chattel, whose appropriate use and highest end is, to subserve their interests. We have known of slavetraders boasting that they had purchased some of their chained gang from Presbyterian elders. We have recently known of two ministering brothers selling into the terrible bondage of the far south,*

* We use the phrase "terrible bondage," because facts in our possession, of unquestionable authority, show us that the *general condition* of the slaves there, compared with what it is in Virginia and Kentucky, is terrible.

the one two thousand, the other five thousand dollars' worth of slaves. Alas! that truth and duty should compel us to record such facts. We could weep over the occurrences which are daily exhibited throughout our slaveholding churches. Good men have long countenanced these acts. Conscience has been asleep. It is surely time that it should awake.

A solemn responsibility in reference to this subject rests upon the preachers of the gospel. "For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." But if the requirements of God are such as the reviewer represents them to be, the Holy One of Israel might justly address us as he did the sons of Levi, in days of old—"Ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law."* We speak not of those who have been trafficking with that object of universal execration, the brutal slavetrader. Many of our preachers have sedulously and conscientiously refrained from making merchandise of men; but they have as sedulously, if not as conscientiously refrained from addressing masters in the style, which the reviewer thinks God's word directs. They have discharged their negative duties—their positive, they have utterly neglected. Where is the southern preacher, who "enforces moral duties, the great principles of justice and mercy, and all the specific commands and precepts of scripture," showing their application to the treatment of servants, and thus teaching the master his *whole* duty towards his slaves? To show the extent of the dereliction of duty, on this point, we will mention a fact. One of our synods in a slaveholding state, some years ago, recommended to the preachers to read in their respective churches the minutes of the General Assembly on slavery, passed in 1818. On inquiry, we have heard of but one congregation in which, up to this time, the recommendation has been carried into effect. A considerable number of the preachers inculcate the duty of masters to provide some kind of religious instruction for their slaves. Very few, however, ever do more than touch upon the subject incidentally. We rarely find any efforts to do good in this way, commensurate with the magnitude of the object. When the question was recently proposed individually to the delegates in a presbytery embracing twenty-seven churches, "What is doing in your church for the moral and religious improvement of the colored people?" The answer from all the churches present, except two, was, "*nothing*." The natural consequence of this neglect is, that the spiritual condition of the slaves is deplorable. But how is it with the master's responsibility for the intellectual improvement of his slaves? We never have heard of more than *two* or *three*, who ever alluded to this duty, or to the duty of compensating the slave for his services.

The intellectual improvement and compensation of the bondman are gospel duties. They are everywhere neglected. We see it, and yet are silent. Sin stalks around us unrebuked. Our moral sensibilities can only be awakened by the sins of the abolitionist. Our virtuous indignation finds him out, though a thousand miles distant

* Mal. ii, 28.

from us, and hurls its anathemas at his head. "We wish," we exclaim to them, "for no foreign interference." No, truly—for it may make us feel that we are slumbering at our posts. It may awaken us to a difficult and uncomfortable yet obligatory work. There are some things wrong about the abolitionists, for which they ought to be withstood in a fitting and Christian spirit. But why do we attempt to cast the *mote* out of our brother's eye, while we neglect the *beam* that is in our own eye? Many write against the abolitionists, and preach against them, and pass ecclesiastical censures upon them—yet the slaveholder escapes them unnoticed. Their courage is exuberant in rebuking the sins of a feeble minority who are at a distance,—but a sinning majority who are before their doors they fear to confront. So far from throwing the light of divine truth on the prevalent practices of slaveholding, many ecclesiastics are engaged in lulling the consciences of those whose unaided reflections have led them to *suspect* that holy writ condemned their doings. It is surely time that there was a change. There must be a change, or judgment will not slumber. Let the principles which ought to guide the conduct of the master, be embodied in resolutions by all our ecclesiastical assemblies —and let them be read and enforced from every pulpit. The ignorant would be, in some degree, at least, enlightened; sleeping consciences would be awakened; and latent scruples invigorated into principles of action.

The following testimony is from Dr. Nelson's Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky and Tennessee, published at large in the monthly Emancipator, No. I.

SLAVERY A SYSTEM OF LICENTIOUSNESS.

You know that amongst the two and a half millions of blacks in our nation, *the laws recognise no such thing as marriage!* No regular minister of the gospel ever solemnizes the ordinance for them. If he did, he would be taking promises which the parties have no power to fulfil. He dare not mock God by solemnly exacting covenants which are mere nullities. If the blacks, without license, get some one of their own number, (unauthorized of course,) to perform the semblance of a ceremony, it is looked upon as a mere mockery. The master who sells them apart, can be called to no account for it. It is known that the law allows it. The slave who changes states or counties is never asked when he chooses one whom he calls *wife*, whether he did not leave one behind him. *He is not asked this when he joins the church!* You know that several millions of human beings are raised to a perfect system of promiscuous concubinage. Aside from the fact that males and females are placed with their beds almost touching, or if not in the same room, their apartments join and doors have no bolts, and that these millions have no character to lose, no reputation to sustain, you know that these deathless beings are trained up to inevitable uncleanness. Of the grown females belonging to more than two millions of our race, nearly every one is either a prostitute or an adulteress, and every grown male either a fornicator or an adulterer.

1 Corinthians vi, 8 and 9—"Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither *fornicators*, nor idolaters, nor *adulterers*," &c. Now who is it that tempts the poor slave to commit these crimes—First, by the withholding of that instruction which can fortify the soul against them, and Secondly, by placing them in situations where it is morally certain they will be committed. Would you treat your own children in a similar manner? If not, who gave you a right to treat the children of others thus? I speak as unto wise men, judge ye. See also chapter 7, verse 2—"Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render unto his wife due benevolence: and likewise also the wife unto the husband." I ask, can the slave keep these commands? If not, who is it that assumes the responsibility of standing between his Creator and Judge, and one of his reasonable creatures, so as to render it impossible for him to obey?

PREPARATION FOR EMANCIPATION.

[From the same.]

"Another train of facts with which you are acquainted. The wicked, who are saying by thousands around you, that they wish slavery could cease—but that the slaves are not yet prepared for freedom, &c. speak falsely, and you know it. They are not sending their slaves to school, as they send their children to school, to prepare them for freedom. (And, my friends, you are not sending your slaves to school for such a purpose.) They do not send them to the Sabbath school, slow as would be such a preparation, and you cannot send yours. You know they speak falsely, because they do not free those who are active, lively, vigilant, and fully capable of taking care of themselves. They speak falsely when they say they fear revenge, should emancipation be generally practised. I have never known a case for thirty years observance, and I might venture to predict you never have, where the liberated slave was not ready to hug the feet of the man who did him justice; yea, to kiss the ground he walked on.

"Each nation has some striking feature of character. The most prominent characteristic of the black appears to be gratitude, when justice has been fully done him. The warmth of an African sun seems to glow in his affections. I once asked the man who drove two hundred in his cotton field, (we had been conversing of a meditated insurrection which had been disclosed by the blacks themselves,) *Do you not dread future plots, and on what do you rely for safety?* 'We depend,' said he, 'upon the fact, that existing affection between master and servant, or between mistress and maid, will always disclose the danger.' This sentiment was extensive before the abolition contest drove them to deny it."

SLAVERY IN LOUISIANA.

C. C. Robin, a French traveller, who was in Louisiana from 1802 to 1806, gives a very particular account of slavery as it then existed there. His candor is so unquestionable, and his description is so exactly applicable to the institution as it still continues, that we translate a few extracts.

MODE OF FLOGGING.

"While they are at labor, the manager, the master, or the driver has commonly the whip in hand to strike the idle. But those of the negroes who are judged guilty of serious faults, are punished twenty, twenty-five, forty, fifty, or one hundred lashes. The manner of this cruel execution is as follows: four stakes are driven down, making a long square; the culprit is extended naked between these stakes, face downwards; his hands and his feet are bound separately, with strong cords, to each of the stakes, so far apart that his arms and legs, stretched into the form of St. Andrew's cross, give the poor wretch no chance of stirring. Then the executioner, who is ordinarily a negro, armed with the long whip of a coachman, strikes upon the reins and thighs. The crack of his whip resounds afar, like that of an angry cartman beating his horses. The blood flows, the long wounds cross each other, strips of skin are raised without softening either the hand of the executioner or the heart of the master, who cries 'sting him harder.'

"The reader is moved, so am I; my agitated hand refuses to trace the bloody picture, to recount how many times the piercing cry of pain has interrupted my silent occupations; how many times I have shuddered at the faces of those barbarous masters, where I saw inscribed the number of victims sacrificed to their ferocity.

"The women are subjected to these punishments as rigorously as the men, not even pregnancy exempts them; in that case, before binding them to the stakes, a hole is made in the ground to accommodate the enlarged form of the victim.*

"It is remarkable that the white creole women are ordinarily more inexorable than the men. Their slow and languid gait, the trifling services which they impose, betoken only apathetic indolence; but should the slave not promptly obey, should he even fail to divine the meaning of their gestures, or looks, in an instant they are armed with a formidable whip; it is no longer the arm which cannot sustain the weight of a shawl or a reticule, it is no longer the form which but feebly sustains itself. They themselves order the punishment of one of these poor creatures, and with a dry eye see their victim bound to four stakes; they count the blows, and raise a voice of menace, if the arm that strikes relaxes, or if the blood does not flow in sufficient abundance. Their sensibility changed to fury must needs feed itself for a while on the hideous spectacle; they must, as if to revive themselves, hear the piercing shrieks, and see the flow of fresh blood;

* —— on fait un trou en terre dans le lieu où l' on juge que doit être placé le ventre.

there are some of them who, in their frantic rage pinch and bite their victims."

THE PROTECTION OF THE LAWS.

"It is by no means wonderful that the laws, designed to protect the slave, should be little respected by the generality of such masters. I have seen some masters pay these unfortunate people the miserable overcoat which is their due; but others give them nothing at all, and do not even leave them the hours and Sundays granted to them by law. I have seen some of these barbarous masters leave them, during the winter, in a state of revolting nudity, even contrary to their own true interests, for they thus weaken and shorten the lives upon which repose the whole of their own fortunes. I have seen some of these negroes obliged to conceal their nakedness with the long moss of the country. I have been a witness, that after the fatigue of the day, their labors have been prolonged several hours by the light of the moon; and then, before they could think of rest, they must pound and cook their corn; and yet, long before day, an implacable scold, whip in hand, would arouse them from their slumbers. Thus, of more than twenty negroes, who in twenty years should have doubled, the number was reduced to four or five."

THE EFFECT UPON CHILDHOOD.

"The young creoles, idolized by their weak parents, make the negroes who surround them the playthings of their whims; they flog, for pastime, those of their own age, just as their fathers flog the others at their will. These young creoles, arrived at the age in which the passions are impetuous, do not know how to bear contradiction; they will have every thing done which they command, possible or not; and, in default of this, they avenge their offended pride by multiplied punishments. The sad melancholy of these wretches, depicted upon their countenances, the flight of some, and the death of others, do not reclaim their masters; they wreak upon those who remain the vengeance which they can no longer exercise upon the others. Overwhelmed at length in ruin, these creoles seem still to escape remorse."

IGNORANCE AND WASTEFULNESS OF SLAVES.

"The negroes being continually under the hand of a master, having no right of property, nor power to make contracts, nor to sustain civil actions, nor, in fine, having any of those civil interests and mutual obligations, which among our country people exercise and develop the intellect, it follows, of course, that their intelligence must be extremely limited; and it is so, to a degree of which a European can with difficulty form a conception. I have seen them unable to count five or six pieces of money; it is rare to find one of them who can tell his age, or that of his children, or how many years since he left his native country; at what time he belonged to such and such a master, or passed to such another: with so slight ideas of the past, they must necessarily have less of the future; hence they are deplorably careless. They use, or rather, waste, whatever clothing they happen to have, without a thought that they may need it some other day. They break and de

stroy whatever comes into their hands with the same carelessness. That which pleases them most, they soon abandon with the greatest indifference. Without ideas of saving, order, or economy for themselves, they have nothing of the kind for their masters: thus, those who are reserved for domestic service in the house have a disagreeable task; they cannot become accustomed to the regular arrangement of which a careful housekeeper is jealous; it is necessary daily to repeat to them the order which belongs to every day—indeed, to repeat it to them every moment; and the mistress of a house whose family is numerous, and its details somewhat multiplied, finds herself sufficiently occupied every hour of the day solely in giving orders to her numerous domestics. That which is commanded them as the most important, is no better executed than that which is indifferent; and those vessels and pieces of furniture which are precious, for their beauty, go to pieces or are mutilated as soon as the most common things; so incapable are they of discerning or calling to mind the circumstances in which they should redouble their watchfulness and caution."

MORALITY OF SLAVES.

"Are these slaves, with notions so limited and confused, with whom the strongest argument is the bloody lash, susceptible of morals? There must be some ideas of order to understand goodness, to feel the charm of virtue; there must be a will of one's own, and that will must be exercised to contradiction before it can courageously battle with vice. The slave then, in his destitution of light, and his prostration of will cannot have a character for morality. Good and evil to him, are what he is commanded, and what he is forbidden; his will is only that of other people, and his whole energy tends to destroy in him his own self, the conservative principle of every being, for the sake of putting in its place the capricious *self* of somebody else. Ask a slave if he can get you such and such a thing, if he can be free to perform for you such a task, he judges from these questions what you desire, and not having the strength to say *no*, which would perhaps displease you, he answers affirmatively; and the more you seem to desire what you ask, the more he adds to his promises. I have remarked this, whenever I have addressed them, whether I had really need, or wished only to try them; but no sooner have they left you, than they give themselves no further trouble about their promises, they act as if they had forgotten them, and the next time they see you, it is with the same assurance as before; shame for a lie is unknown to them. A lie is so often useful to them, and the truth so often disastrous, and their aptness at a lie is such, that they take in sustaining it, an air of assurance and tranquility which imposes upon strangers; often the terrible preparation for punishment, and the redoubled blows of the whip, cannot extort from them the truth. Of course we no more expect to find in them that species of fidelity which respects the property of others; can those who have no property themselves, and know not what it is to have it, find any thing good in a virtue which is never otherwise than harmful to them?

"It may also be said that they are all thieves, so rare are the excep-

tions; and their impudence and cunning are incredible. On this account they make their masters sufficiently unhappy; they devastate their poultry yards, their orchards, and their gardens. To defend against them, it is necessary to surround these places with high palisades like a fort, and even these obstacles they know how to surmount. I have seen a house with beehives near it, at forty feet distance, they came at night and robbed the honey. In travelling upon the river, it has happened that one has been taken in the act of stealing in the very boat where I was sleeping."—*Tom.* 3, *pp.* 175, 192.

THE DWELLINGS OF SLAVES.

THE best possible testimony as to the condition of the slaves, is that of the masters, when given incidentally. They certainly can have no motive to represent their condition as worse than it is, and they have abundant means of knowing. We take the following from "A Detail of a plan for the Moral Improvement of Negroes on Plantations. Read before the Georgia Presbytery, by Thomas S. Clay. Printed at the request of the Presbytery." Mr. Clay is himself a slaveholder. He says, on page 13,

"A subject, not less important, presents itself in the *dwellings* of the negro, and, until greater attention is paid to this subject, it will be impossible to inculcate and maintain that regard for decency, which is so essential to good morals. Our physical habits have a vast influence on our moral; neither can they be entirely separated. Man is a physical, as well as a moral being; and this fact must always be kept in view, in our endeavors to give elevation to his character. Should we fail to do this, the subjects of our philanthropy will point out the inconsistency, and distrust our sincerity. These reflections are strikingly applicable to the evils obviously arising from the mode of lodging in negro houses. Too many individuals of different sexes are crowded into one house, and the proper separation of apartments cannot be observed. That they are familiar with these inconveniences, and insensible to the evils arising from them, does not, in the least, lessen the unhappy consequences in which they result."

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

THE same writer says, on pages 17 and 18,

"There are several prevailing errors connected with crime and punishment, in the present system of plantation discipline, and, first, there exists a wrong scale of crime. Offences against the master are more severely punished than violations of the law of God, or faults which affect the slave's personal character or good. As examples, we may notice that running away is more severely punished than adultery,

and idleness than Sabbath-breaking and swearing, and stealing from the master than defrauding a fellow-slave. Under the influence of such a code as this, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the negro forms false estimates of the comparative criminality of actions. And further, the general mode of inflicting punishment tends to confound these distinctions. The whip is the general instrument of correction; and so long as a negro is whipped, without discrimination, for neglect of work, for stealing, lying, Sabbath-breaking, and swearing, he will very naturally class them all together, as belonging to the same grade of guilt. In a good code of discipline, the punishment will always be suited to the nature and enormity of the crime; and it is highly important that this measure should be well adjusted, for the common people will judge of the criminality of the act by the nature and extent of the punishment.

RECEIPTS.

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from August 17th to September 24th, 1836.

Andover, Mass.,	A. S. Society,	$100 00
" "	Female A. S. Society,	15 00
" "	two ladies,	1 75
Amesbury, Mass.,	A. S. Society,	41 35
" "	Female A. S. Society,	10 00
Attleboro, "	Rev. C. Simmons,	10 00
Abington, "	for Plymouth county A. S. Society,	25 00
Belfair, Ohio,	John Stone, on account of pledge,	5 00
Bethel, Vt.,	D. Crain,	1 32
" "	James Murah,	50
Bradford, Mass.,	A. S. Society,	50 00
Cornwall, Vt.,	A. S. Society,	10 00
Derry, N. H.,	two ladies,	3 75
Dover, "	Ladies' A. S. Society,	50 00
" "	A. S. Society,	110 00
Darien, Ct.,	Friends, by W. Whitney,	4 50
Fallowfield, Pa.,	A. S. Society, by James Fulton,	30 00
Flushing, L. I.,	Friends, by W. Tillinghast,	10 00
Great Falls, N. H.,	A. S. Society,	70 00
Hallowell, Me.,	Eben Dole, Esq.,	100 00
" "	Dr. Brown,	10 00
Haverhill, Mass.,	J. G. Whittier and others,	5 00
" "	Female A. S. Society,	16 16
" "	A. S. Society,	139 00
Hanover, "	Female Benev. Society,	25 00
" "	S. Society,	150 00
Ipswich, "	Wm. Oakes, Esq.,	100 00
Lowell, "	Young Men's A. S. S.,	30 75
" "	Ladies,	8 65
" "	Friends,	69 50
Lebanon, N. H.,	Mrs. A. Allen,	1 00
Middlebury, Ct.,	Rev. T. Atwater, collected in his congregation,	3 00
N. H. State A. S. Society, by G. Kent, Esq.,		309 00
Newtown, N. H.,	Ebenezer Peaslee,	10 00
New Hampshire, a friend,		1 00
" "	Rev. Geo. Storrs,	11 00
North Yarmouth, Me.,	A. S. Society,	27 17
Newburyport, Mass.,	A. S. Society,	100 00
" "	Female A. S. Soc.	11 00
" "	a friend,	50
Norwich, Ct.,	Ladies' A. S. Society,	11 80
New Haven, Ct.,	W. M. Burchard,	3 00
New York city,	Wm. Shotwell,	10 00
" "	people of color, by Rev. E. S. Cornish and Mrs. Hester Lane,	30 00
" "	Rev. A. Bruce, on account of pledge,	5 00
Ottawa, Ill.,	E. H. Knowlton,	2 00
Portland, Me.,	A. S. Society,	300 00
" "	Juvenile A. S. Society,	6 00
" "	a lady,	6 60
Portsmouth, N. H.,	Friends,	50 00
Pawtucket, R. I.,	Female A. S. Society,	15 00
" "	A. S. Society,	62 00
" "	Juvenile A. S. Society,	50 00
Rhode Island State A. S. Society,		139 00
Ryegate, Vt.,	Rev. G. Milligan,	6 00
Reading, Mass.,	John Darnon,	15 00
Syracuse, N. Y.,	Seth Conklin,	13 00
Weymouth, and S. Braintree,	Union A. S. Soc.,	50 00
Washington co., N. Y.,	A. S. Society,	40 00
		$2506 30

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.
New York, September 24, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, during the month of August, 1836.

Cazenovia, N. Y.,	per Truman Kellogg,	$6 00
Haddam, Ct.,	D. C. Tyler,	1 50
Honesdale, Pa.,	S. Stevens,	75
Kingsbury, N. Y.,	S. Wells,	7 00
Norwalk, Ct.,	J. Warner,	7 00
New York Mills,	per Rev. J. Pettibone,	6 00
"	H. Sweet,	25
"	J. Usmar,	25
Oxford, Ohio,	Rev. J. Craven,	5 00
Portland, Me.,	L. E. Winslow,	10 00
Philadelphia, Pa.,	Female A. S. S. per Lucretia Mott,	25 00
Putnam, Ohio,	H. Nye,	4 75
Troy, N. Y.,	per G. Grant, Esq.,	27 00
West Watervile, Me.,	E. Foster,	1 50
Walton, N. Y.,	A. P. St. John,	5 00
West Arlington, Vt.,	Dr. A. McKee,	20 00
Received for the Emancipator,		375 23
" "	Human Rights,	64 94
" "	A. S. Record,	33 81
" "	Quarterly Magazine,	45 00
" "	Publications,	301 12
		$947 10

R. G. WILLIAMS,
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Total Receipts, $3453 40

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. XI. NOVEMBER, 1836. WHOLE No. 23

FACTS IN REGARD TO THE WORKING OF THE BRITISH ABOLITION ACT.

WE propose in this number to give a condensed view of the results of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, as they may be gathered from the *official reports* of the governors of those colonies to the authorities of the mother country. The reader will please to recollect that these statements, though neither the latest nor the most satisfactory, are *official*. If any one chooses to call them in question, we can refer him to the *Parliamentary Papers*, printed *by order of the House of Commons*, where they may be found.

JAMAICA.

NUMBER OF APPRENTICES, 320,000.

The Marquis of Sligo, in his despatch dated August 13, 1834, says: "In all parts of the island, with the exception alone of St. Ann's parish, the transition from slavery to apprenticeship has been effected in the most satisfactory manner. It is a remarkable feature in the progress of that transition, that the first of August was devoted, in most parts of the island, to devotional exercises. On Sunday the places of worship were again unusually crowded, and the day passed over in the most orderly and quiet manner. My reports from all parts of the island, with the exception of St. Ann's alone, state that on Monday the apprentices turned out to their work with even more than usual readiness, in some places with alacrity, and all with good humor."

But why the exception of St. Ann's parish?

The same despatch informs us—"From what Col. Macleod has informed me, I am confident that as soon as the misunderstanding is got rid of, they will be quiet, *unless forced into rebellion by the conduct of the overseers, and, I am sorry to say, of many of the masters and managing attorneys.* My letters by yesterday's post have confirmed this opinion, as there have been several petty disturbances, attended with cases of punishment, in St. James's, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth, in almost every instance caused either by the intemperate conduct of the overseers, or exaction by the proprietors or managers. *The mothers have been refused time to suckle their children,* the usual old women as nurses have been withdrawn, the field cooks have been withdrawn the paths leading from their huts to their provision grounds

have been stopped. Many instances of discontent for similar causes have been reported to me from St. Thomas in the East; but except in those parishes above named, nothing can equal the good temper and tranquillity with which all is going on."

The apprentices are obliged by law to work forty and a half hours a week for their masters, and the rest of their time is at their own disposal. It is important to remark, that, notwithstanding the prophecy of the planters to the contrary, the apprentices have always been ready to work *for wages* in *their own time*. Some of the masters, however, have not been so willing to pay wages. The Marquis of Sligo, in his despatch dated 21st June, 1835, says: "Mr. Walsh, one of the specials, reported to me, that when he named to a relative of one of the principal resident proprietors, who was complaining that the apprentices would not be able to get off his crops in time, that he was authorized by them (the apprentices) to offer their labor *in their own time*, at the usual rate of wages, 1*s.* 8*d.* currency, or 1*s.* sterling per nine hours, *he was desired to hold his tongue*, and not to speak to the old gentleman about it, as it would make him angry, he having firmly resolved *never to pay any wages to any of his former slaves*."

Among other important facts in the same despatch, the governor of Jamaica states the following:

"The quality of the sugar made this year is *bonâ fide* far superior to what has been heretofore made by night work on the majority of estates in this island.

"There has been by far less stock lost in this year's crop than in that of preceding years, and in many places it has been taken off by a smaller number.

"The apprentices generally are evidently becoming more reconciled to the system, and work cheerfully for money-hire both night and day, and they are becoming better behaved every day.

"The ginger, arrow-root, and coffee plantations, are as flourishing as ever they were known to be.

"The negroes will improve, because they have done so since the first of August, gradually but certainly, in all parts where severity has not been practised.

"They passed their holydays at Christmas in an unusually orderly manner; and there were, literally speaking, I verily believe, not twenty absentees from their labor on the 27th of December, and they worked on New Year's day without a murmur.

"They now dig cane holes in many parts of the island at one halfpenny per hole, earning a dollar a day, digging 160 often in a day, when 70 or 80 was their task during slavery.

"On the whole, I come to the conclusion, that the perfect success of the new system during the continuance of the apprenticeship, depends entirely on the conduct of the white people; and that if it fails, on them will rest the entire blame."*

It must be remembered, that Lord Sligo is himself a West India planter, and not one of the leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society.

* Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—I, p. 216.

The governor of Jamaica has also submitted a multitude of reports from the special magistrates, which unanimously corroborate his statements.

J. Daughtrey, special magistrate at St. Elizabeth's, says:

"No instance has, I believe, occurred in this quarter, of their refusing to work for wages: at any rate, they are doing it now whenever required; and it is within my knowledge that they are even soliciting to be so employed in their own time. Their *free labor* has more than once been pointed out to me with expressions of approbation at the manner in which it had been performed. It has happened to me several times to see them paid; and I observed with pleasure, that, instead of any murmuring at the rate of wages (at first a rather common occurrence), they drew up for '*the cash*,' as they emphatically termed it, with their very best looks and best manners. They are capital reckoners of what they have to receive; I would almost defy any one to cheat the most stupid among them out of the smallest that is their due. They are characteristically fond of money."*

S. Pryce, special magistrate in Trelawney, says: "I have much pleasure in reporting to your Excellency, that the whole of this populous and extensive district, assigned to my management by your lordship, is perfectly tranquil and orderly.

"The apprentices are becoming better behaved, and more reconciled to their managers under the new system, than heretofore. They are gradually settling down to their duty, and performing their work steadily and well.

"The apprentices generally appear to pay more attention to the religious observance of the sabbath than formerly.

"They appear desirous of having moral and religious instruction, and express a desire to have their children educated; none of whom have they, in any instance, apprenticed to their former masters.

"They express an anxiety about their houses and grounds; and on one occasion, I was asked by an apprentice if he could legally purchase and own land.

"Since crop, I have had only one complaint from any manager in my beat (46 properties and about 9,000 apprentices), of the apprentices not working faithfully; and, on investigation, I am satisfied the overseer himself was to blame, having stopped their allowance of herrings, and worked the apprentices eight hours per day for five days, in place of nine hours, and thereby depriving them of their half of Friday.

"I regret to state, that several of the subordinate planters still cling to the old system, and cannot divest themselves of their old prejudices and arbitrary disposition towards the apprentices, who on their parts have not had sufficient time to reconcile themselves to their former oppressors.

"Complaints are greatly diminished since the commencement of my duties, and they have become more of a casual than of an important nature, frequently between the apprentices themselves only.

* Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—I, p. 23.

"In closing my report, I very humbly submit to your Excellency (from an experience of thirty-four years in the colony), that the prospects for the next year's returns are as flattering as can reasonably be expected, and are quite at variance with the newspaper reports."*

"*R. J. Langrish, special magistrate, Lower Clarendon*, says: "The crops on almost every estate are finished, and, generally speaking, have exceeded those of last year both in quantity and quality. The state of preparation for next year's crop, on all well regulated estates, is as forward as the diminished number of hours will allow. Complaints have decidedly diminished, but I regret to state I have been under the necessity of punishing some of the employers for cruel treatment to their apprentices."†

A. Macleod, special magistrate, St. Dorothy's, says: "The crop is fast drawing to a close, and will, I hope, present a gratifying return. The success of the Whim estate has been remarkable. This property made last year 140 hhds. and 60 puncheons, but has this year completed no less than 240 hhds. and 110 puncheons; and all this with a very trifling quantity of extra labor. Your Excellency's estate of Kelly's, regard being had to the comparative number of negroes, seems to have done still more than the Whim, and I am happy to add, that on neither property has there been a single corporal punishment since I have been a special magistrate in St. Dorothy."‡

BARBADOES.

NUMBER OF APPRENTICES, 82,000.

The following extracts from the despatches of Sir Lionel Smith, the governor, will suffice to show the effect of emancipation in this island.

"26*th Aug.* 1834.

"I have the honor and satisfaction to state to you, that perfect tranquillity, by my latest accounts, exists in all the islands of the Windward government.§

"Grenada, on the commencement of the apprenticeship system, was partially disturbed by refractory negroes on two estates. The prompt action of the civil and military authorities immediately restored order.

"In St. Vincent's, one estate only struck work, and order was soon restored.

"In Tobago and this island, the negroes have been perfectly orderly and steady at their duties."‖

"*5th Nov.* 1834.

"I have much pleasure in reporting the existence of perfect tranquillity in this and the other islands of the Windward government."¶

"3*d Jan.* 1835.

"I have great pleasure in reporting general tranquillity and industry among the apprenticed population of the Windward islands."**

* Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—I, p. 246. † Ibid. p. 248.
‡ Ibid. p. 262. § Ibid. pp. 56, 57. ‖ Ibid. p. 73. ¶ Ibid. p. 78. ** Ibid. p. 88

In his despatch of the 28th of April, 1835, the governor thus expresses himself:

"It would have been singular, if, on entering into their state of modified freedom, the apprenticed laborers had in general displayed any insurrectionary movement. They had every thing to hope from a passive obedience to the law. Their minds may reasonably be supposed to have predisposed them to accept the proffered boon thankfully and quietly; and, in fact, their transition was most orderly accomplished; and in the same quiet state they have remained. Your lordship will learn with surprise, that although we have been for four weeks without any rural police act, the business of the estates has progressed as usual, and the general peace has not been any where disturbed."*

BRITISH GUIANA.

NUMBER OF APPRENTICES, 90,000.

Sir James Carmichael Smyth became governor of this colony in June, 1833. On 4th March, 1835, he thus writes:

"I do not believe that at this moment there is a single estate in British Guiana on which a reasonable proportion of work, commensurate to seven and a half hours' labor, is not performed by the apprenticed laborers. I deem it my duty further to remark to your lordship, that since the first of August there has not been an instance of a white man upon an estate being struck or ill-treated by a negro; nor has a single building or cane-field been maliciously set fire to. These facts speak strongly in favor of the laborers. On one estate (La Hague) the sea-dam gave way early on a Sunday morning. The negroes, without waiting to be summoned, ran down in a body with their tools, and instantly repaired the dam; thus preventing the estate from being ruined for several years. The manager (who is a very intelligent and superior man, and has acquired completely both the confidence and the respect of the people) assured me that the laborers neither asked nor expected any remuneration for performing this service. On another estate, called La Bonne Intention, the buildings accidentally caught fire. The fire was extinguished by the exertion and good-will of the negroes. The manager assured me, that he was compelled to order the laborers to come down from the tops of the buildings, and not expose themselves to the very imminent danger they voluntarily encountered to preserve their master's property."†

"12*th April*, 1835.

"It appears from the statement enclosed, that from the river Demerara alone, 4,676 hogsheads of sugar have been shipped during the last six months, *more* than (with a diminution of one-sixth of his labor) the planter had a right to expect; and more than was produced by slave labor during the same periods in 1831 and 1832. If, in reply to this observation, it should be stated that the planter has paid for extra labor, it may be remarked, that it has been money well laid out; 4,676 extra hogsheads of sugar, fetching each (in the sugar market)

* Parliamentary Papers, sess 1835, No. 278—I, pp. 90, 91. † Ibid. p. 173.

from 20*l.* to 25*l.*, afford a total (even at 20*l.* each) of 93,520*l.*; a profit which will surely induce the planter to lay out much larger sums than he has hitherto, in the payment of extra and willing labor."*

"25*th May*, 1835.

"Every thing is going on as well as could be wished. All that foolish excitement which lately prevailed among the white population is at an end. The reaction has been almost as rapid as was the sudden burst of angry feeling."†

"6*th July*, 1835.

"I beg leave respectfully to draw your lordship's attention to the following facts, taken from a careful inspection of the custom-house returns of the quarter which ended on the 30th ult., and compared with similar documents of the four preceding years for the same period.

"The average quantity of sugar entered for exportation at the custom-house in Demerara and Essequibo, during the June quarters of the four years preceding the present one, amounts to 10,723 hogsheads per each. As the planter is entitled to one-sixth less labor from the apprentice than from the slave, one-sixth less produce might reasonably, under present circumstances, have been expected. For the June quarter of the present year, consequently, if 8,926 hogsheads of sugar had been entered for exportation, there could have been no just ground of complaint against the apprenticed laborer. Your lordship will, however, learn with pleasure, that 13,189 hogsheads have been entered; being 2,466 hogsheads more than was produced in the same time under the slave system, and 4,263 hogsheads above what the planter had a right to calculate upon with his diminished labor."‡

The governor proceeds to compare the produce of rum, molasses, coffee, and cotton, with the average of the four preceding years, and finds that in all, except molasses, the produce is greater; and of molasses, more has been produced than the planter had a right to expect with the diminished labor. He adds:

"The protracted illness of the collector at Berbice has hitherto prevented my being furnished with similar returns from that district. I understand, however, that the documents from thence will be even still more gratifying."

MAURITIUS.

NUMBER OF APPRENTICES, ABOUT 70,000.

The Abolition Act did not take effect in this island till the 1st February, 1835.§ Some days after, the governor, Sir William Nicolay, thus writes to the secretary of state:

"16*th February*, 1835.

"A vessel being on the point of sailing for England, I have to report, with much satisfaction, that the new system, occasioned by the

* Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—I, p. 175. † Ibid. p. 176.
‡ Ibid. p. 177.
§ The delay was occasioned by the remoteness of the island, it being situated in the Indian ocean.—Ed.

act for the abolition of slavery, continues to work well; masters and apprentices appearing content."

As a large number of the slaves on this island had not been duly registered, and consequently the apprenticeship act did not apply to them, the British government has ordered the governor to proclaim them unconditionally free. We have not yet heard the result.

ANTIGUA.

FORMERLY 30,000 SLAVES—WHITE POPULATION ABOUT 2,000

Mr. Henry Loving,* the superintendent of police, thus reports to the governor:

"1*st June*, 1835.

"The progressively healthful state of affairs in this island, leaves me but little to remark upon this report for the month of May; and I am happy to have learnt, from the best authority, that some gentlemen of rank, possessing estates in this country, who, from a want of due patience, had recently predicted the ruin of the landed interest, are now of a different opinion."†

Nowhere in the West Indies had the chains of slavery been more galling than in Antigua. Nowhere was abolition more violently opposed by the masters. They prophesied the utter ruin of the island if it should ever take place. However, on finding that by an immediate emancipation, instead of the apprenticeship system, they would sooner get the compensation money, they resolved to venture upon the act which they had so often deprecated as the highest folly. As this case embraces *all the dangers* which can possibly attach to an act of immediate abolition, it will be well to recur to the Antigua journals, and see how the *change* from absolute slavery to full and unconditional freedom passed off. It is now admitted by all, that the state of society in Antigua is perfectly safe, and the island more prosperous, than ever under the slave system. Let us see how it passed its perils. The Antigua Free Press, of August 7th, 1834, says:

"The great doubt is solved; the alarming prognostications of the advocates of slavery falsified; the highest hopes of the negro's friends fulfilled, and their pledges honorably redeemed. A whole people, comprising 30,000 souls, have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of a sabbath.

"The religious services appropriate to the event were commenced by the Wesleyans holding, according to a practice peculiar to themselves, what is called a 'watch-night.' The places of worship were numerously attended, particularly by the slaves, and, at the hour of

* Mr. Loving is a man of color, the son of a negress, and who had himself been a slave till he was nine years of age.

† Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—II, p. 4.

twelve, they received the blessing of freedom on their knees, while engaged in supplication and thanksgiving to the Author of all mercies. Friday, the day of jubilee, presented such a scene as was never before witnessed in Antigua. From an early hour in the morning, multitudes were seen moving from all quarters to the house of God; and, at the hours of prayer, every church and chapel, perhaps without exception, overflowed. In St. John's and Parham particularly, they were literally crammed, the doors and windows crowded, and hundreds after all were obliged to remain outside. We attended in the morning at the Moravian chapel in town, and are persuaded that there were assembled there not less than between three and four thousand persons, including those in the school-room, where there was service likewise, together with such as could not obtain entrance in either place.

"But it was not merely from contemplating the hitherto unequalled multitudes of worshippers who filled and environed the houses of prayer, that the benevolent looker-on could derive a sublime and hallowed pleasure; a more striking object of wonder and delight was the demeanor of the people universally. It not only claimed the credit of being orderly, but was in the highest degree decorous and praiseworthy. While every countenance beamed with happiness, there was no unbecoming excitement. Their joy was lively, indeed, but it was calm and chastened; and even with regard to their dresses, there was no gaudiness nor attempt at finery; every thing was clean, neat, and suited to a day of general thanksgiving. The thought occurred to us,—if the philanthropists of Britain could have witnessed the sight which we were privileged to behold, how gratefully would they have acknowledged that all their solicitude, and exertions, and expense, in behalf of the poor enslaved negro, were now amply rewarded. For our own part, we felt, that if it were possible and requisite, we could, for another such consummation, consent again to suffer the calumnies, persecution, and poverty, which have been (and still are in pretty large measure) inflicted upon us for pleading the cause of our oppressed brethren.

"It is exceeding gratifying to learn, from all parts of the country, that the sense of propriety manifested by the negroes everywhere in public, was not thrown off upon returning to their habitations. Sobriety and decency maintained their rule everywhere; and the noise of dancing and revelling was not heard to proceed from any hut, as we understand, throughout the island.

"But the good conduct of the negroes did not end with the day of thanksgiving, when the solemn impressions made by the religious services might be supposed to have worn off, at least in many instances. A week has nearly elapsed, and although all eyes and ears are open, and reports spread rapidly, we have not heard of a single act of insolence, insubordination, or violence, committed by any one of them, under false and licentious notions of freedom. It is true, that at first they almost all refused the terms of hire proposed by the proprietors and attorneys; but a little reasoning has prevailed with them; and, according to the accounts from the country, there cannot be more than one-fifth holding out for higher wages. There is no doubt, however,

that these will speedily accede likewise. We feel it to be our duty here (and a very gratifying one it is), to bear testimony to the services of our friend, Mr. Loving, the superintendent of police, whose exertions in the performance of his duties have been unwearied, and to whose conciliatory expostulations and advice it is mainly owing that the laborers have so speedily returned to the employment of their former masters. This gentleman, since assuming office on the first, has visited almost every estate, for the purpose of explaining to the people their exact condition, duties, and interest; and his addresses have everywhere been attended with the best effects."

On the *14th of August*, the same paper says:

"It is with the highest satisfaction we announce, that we know of, and believe there is, no gang of laborers in the island, which has not returned to its accustomed employment. Tranquillity prevails everywhere; indeed, it has never been broken; for, although many negroes held back from work for some days, in expectation of higher wages, *not a single instance of riotous misconduct has occurred.*" The same state of things has continued, according to the journals, down to the present time.

MONTSERRAT 6,000 APPRENTICES—NEVIS 9,000—TORTOLA AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS 5,000—DOMINICA 15,000

"We class these four islands together, as they form a part, along with St. Christopher's (of which we shall treat separately), of one general government (that of Antigua), and also because the same general terms will nearly apply to all alike, with slight variations. The minds of the negroes, in all of them, were, to a certain degree, affected by the difference of their lot from that of the population of Antigua. They submitted to the system of apprenticeship very reluctantly indeed, but with no murmurs loud enough to cause any very serious alarm, or to indicate any purpose of combined resistance, except for a few days on the part of the slaves on some French estates in Dominica. With this slight exception, the governor represents the black population, generally, as having conducted themselves with great propriety and decorum, and states his belief, that the rumors of any failures of the crops had proceeded as much, if not more, from the vague apprehension of the planters, as from any reluctance on the part of the negroes to perform their duties. All these islands had continued, with these slight exceptions, to enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity."

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

CONTAINING ABOUT 18,000 APPRENTICES.

"In this island, more than any other, was the grievance of the apprenticeship felt by the black population, as they contrasted their own situation with that of their neighbors in Antigua. They regarded their masters as depriving them of rights to which they considered themselves equally entitled by the will of their sovereign; and the sub-governor, having been himself a slave-holder, could obtain no credit for his explanations; which, on the contrary, they drowned

with clamor." Notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, the governor thus expresses himself in a letter to the secretary of state, of the 18th Nov. 1834:

"It gives me sincere pleasure in stating, that the apprenticeship system goes on far better than I believe any one anticipated. The negroes are in general very quiet, and, with a very few exceptions, work well; numerous planters say that they get as much work done under the new system, as ever they did during the existence of slavery; and some gentlemen (a good many) go so far as to say they get more."*

ST. VINCENT, CONTAINING ABOUT 22,000 APPRENTICES—GRENADA, ABOUT 24,000—TOBAGO, ABOUT 13,000.

From Tobago, the lieutenant-governor, General Darling, on the 31st December, 1834, addressed to the secretary of state, Mr. Spring Rice, the following satisfactory statement:

"If I might venture to form an opinion on the experience of the five months that have elapsed since the extinction of slavery, I should say, there is no reason whatever to apprehend any trouble or insubordination in this island under the system of apprenticeship; which, notwithstanding occasional complaints of late turning out to work, will upon the whole prove as beneficial to the interests of the proprietor, as the former system; and this, too, without reference to the greatly improved condition of the laborer."†

TRINIDAD.

THE NUMBER OF APPRENTICES ABOUT 23,000

On the 22d of May, 1835, Sir G. Hill, the governor, thus writes:

"The sugar crop is now more than three-fourths finished; it will produce (I expect) as much revenue as last year, and with general contentedness on the part of the apprentices.

"I delight to remark, that punishments have materially decreased; on some estates, none have been inflicted since October last; and I entertain a strong belief, that there is an advance towards a moral improvement, which, if carefully promoted, will realize the most sanguine hopes of the promoters of the important change effected on the first of August last."‡

ST. LUCIA.

CONTAINING ABOUT 13,000 APPRENTICES.

In this island, the great change has been effected without the slightest disorder or disturbance. On the 12th of July, 1834, the new governor, Sir Dudley St. Leger Hill, issued a proclamation, announcing the approaching emancipation of the slaves on the first of August next, a day which he appointed to be observed in all churches and chapels as a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having in his infinite wisdom visited the people of this land with so gracious

* Parliamentary papers, sess. 1835, No. 278—II, p. 94.
† Ibid. p. 181. ‡ Ibid. p. 212.

a dispensation of his good providence; and likewise, of humble intercession and fervent prayer, that he may be pleased mercifully to further this important change to a peaceful and happy end.

The governor reports in his letter of the third November, 1834, as follows:

"It is with no ordinary satisfaction that I profit by this opportunity to inform you, that the tranquil and orderly conduct of the apprenticed laborers fully justifies my giving you an assurance, which cannot fail to be gratifying to his Majesty's government; and that is, that the abolition of slavery has not, up to this period, interrupted the industry which was customary previously to that happy event."*

HONDURAS.

THE NUMBER OF APPRENTICES IS ABOUT 2,500.

The governor, Colonel Cockburn, on the 15th of December, 1834, wrote as follows:

"The apprenticed laborers are going on well; and though nearly the whole of them will be assembled here at the ensuing Christmas, I do not anticipate any disturbance, complaint, or difficulty."†

BAHAMAS.

THE NUMBER OF APPRENTICES ABOUT 9,000.

In these scattered islands, some acts of insubordination occurred in the first instance, but unattended with violence of any kind. On the 5th of March, 1835, the acting governor reports:

"I am happy in being able to report to your lordship, that tranquillity prevails throughout these islands, and the inhabitants appear to look forward to an improvement in their circumstances, which will contribute to the general contentment."‡

GRAND CAYMANAS.

CONTAINING ABOUT 1,000 NEGROES, FORMERLY SLAVES.

These small islands seem hitherto to have been almost excluded from the pale of society, though not very distant from Jamaica. The slaves in the Caymanas had never been registered. The Abolition Act declared all unregistered slaves to be free from the 1st of August, 1834. After some delay, the secretary of state ordered them to be declared free; and Lord Sligo prepared to issue a proclamation to that effect, which was accompanied with an address. On the 3d of May, Lord Sligo himself visited these islands with the proclamation and address, in order to sooth the proprietors, and to calm and instruct the slaves, who were mutually thunderstruck by the unexpected proceeding, which took place on the morning of his arrival. The whole affair appears to have passed over very quietly.

* Parliamentary papers, sess 1835, No. 278—II, p. 225.
† Ibid. p. 246. ‡ Ibid. p. 265.

BERMUDA

FORMERLY THERE WERE ABOUT 5,000 SLAVES.

The legislature of this island declined, as is well known, to subject their slaves to the apprenticeship, and declared them entirely free from the 1st of August, 1834. The law admits to the elective franchise all the free who are duly qualified. Not the slightest symptom of disaffection or disturbance appears to have at any time occurred in this island.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE NUMBER OF APPRENTICES ABOUT 35,000.

The governor of this colony, in his despatch to the secretary of state, dated 6th December, 1833, writes thus:

"From the reports of the public functionaries, from the communications I have received from many other individuals who have the best opportunities of ascertaining the state of the public mind, and from my own personal observations, I feel that I may venture to assure you, that there is no cause to apprehend, on the part of the slave proprietors in this colony, any openly avowed hostility to the bill; still less any thing partaking of systematic resistance to it, or that the measure will be here productive of any collision between the different classes of society."

On the 1st of April, 1834, the governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, wrote that he had granted permission to the inhabitants of the colony to hold a public meeting, to consider and suggest the measures that might be requisite in this crisis of their affairs. Among these measures was a proposition to abridge the period of the apprenticeship by two years, so that all slavery should terminate in this colony on the 1st December, 1838, instead of the 1st December, 1840; the majority of their slaves being domestic, and not predial.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from September 25th to October 17th, 1836.

Albany, N. Y., T. Fassett,	$35 00
Bridgeport, Con., W. R. Bunnells,	3 00
Billerica, Mass., a friend,	5 00
Cortlandt, N. Y., a friend,	1 00
Glastenbury, Con., a colored girl,	1 00
" " from friends,	5 00
Genesee co., N. Y., A. S. Society, by J. B Halstead,	20 00
Hampshire co., Mass., by P. Field,	20 00
Munroe, Ohio, by Col. W. Lewis,	5 00
New York city, Juvenile A. S. Society at Chatham street chapel,	7 65
" " Juvenile A. S. Society,	2 28
Philadelphia, Miss R. Buffum,	10 00
Peterboro', N. Y., Gerrit Smith, Esq.,	1,000 00
Sandy Hill, N. Y., little girls,	25
A friend,	75
A stranger,	1 00
From H. B. Stanton, financial agent (particulars hereafter)	453 42
	$1570 45

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.
New York, October 17, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, during the month of September, 1836.

Andover, Mass., Thomas Duglass,	$5 00
Granville, Ohio, E. C. Wright,	38 00
New York, H. Owen,	25
" J. Usmar,	25
Oneida Institute, N. Y., per W. J. Savage,	17 50
Rome, N. Y., per Dr. Blair,	10 00
Syracuse, N. Y., per S. Conklin,	3 00
Received for the Emancipator,	263 15
" " Human Rights,	64 44
" " A. S. Record,	5 00
" " Quarterly Magazine,	47 83
" " Publications,	268 17
	$742 59

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, (No. 3 Spruce)

Total Receipts, $2313 04

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. II. No. XII. DECEMBER, 1836. WHOLE No. 24.

DOES THE BIBLE SANCTION SLAVERY?

We must first settle the meaning of the term *slavery*. "A slave," says the law of Louisiana, "is one who is in the power of the master to whom he *belongs*. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor: *he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master*." "He is a *chattel personal*," says the law of South Carolina, "*to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever*." It may be added, that he came into this relation (the relation of a *thing* to an owner) without any fault or consent of his own. This definition of slavery, furnished by law, is a true description of it in fact. This, then, is what we mean by slavery, the being held in the relation of a mere *thing* to some man. This is the American meaning of the word. And it is in regard to this meaning that we inquire whether the Bible sanctions it.

In that comprehensive summary of Bible doctrine called the Ten Commandments, the *right of property* is recognised and guarded by the prohibition, "THOU SHALT NOT STEAL." This prohibition is of universal application, meaning thou shalt not steal from any body; therefore it presupposes in every man a right to use the products of his own labor, and much more the limbs with which he labors, as he pleases. No man is allowed to take from another his property without his consent. The word *steal* covers the whole ground of *fraud*, whether secret or open. Now, it is no matter whether you call slaveholding, as above defined, stealing, or not. It is at war with the doctrine of the eighth commandment, because it destroys in the slave the *right of property*, which the commandment sacredly guards. It does, by one comprehensive and perpetual process, all which that commandment solemnly prohibits. There is no doubt that I violate the eighth commandment, if, meeting a man upon the highway, I order him to stand and deliver,—if I take his watch and his purse. But those things are perhaps the avails, over and above his food and clothing, of a year's labor. Should I have done less violence to the commandment, if I had met the same man a year sooner, and compelled him to work a year on my farm, feeding and clothing him, to be sure, but taking all the profits? Should I have done less, if I had compelled him to work for life? Should I have done less, if, instead of seizing the man, I had seized his mother before his birth, compelled her to work for me, and laid the claim of absolute ownership to her child as

soon as it was born? Surely not. There would be little use of the eighth commandment, if men could get round it so conveniently. But whether slaveholding be profitable or not, it violates the prohibition, "Thou shalt not steal," inasmuch as it sets utterly aside the right which the prohibition was designed to guard.

Before we go any further, then, it may be remarked, that IF the Bible sanctions slavery, the Bible is totally inconsistent with itself, and consequently is unworthy of any respect. So, if our inquiry turns out in favor of slavery, it is the Bible that must fall, and not the rights of human nature.

Now, says the slaveholder, slavery was recognised in the very ten commandments from which you have quoted. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's *man-servant*, nor his *maid-servant*, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." Here, continues the slaveholder, the man-servant and the maid-servant are spoken of as *belonging* to the neighbor, just as much as the ox or the ass. Let us look at this argument. The slaveholder assumes that the servants are here put upon the same relation to their master as his ox or his ass. But the commandment first says, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant," &c. On the slaveholder's argument, the *wife* too is placed in the same relation to her husband as his house, or his ox, or his ass. This is proving a little more than even a slaveholder would wish. But if the relation of the wife to her husband is not the same as that of an ox to its owner, it follows that the relation of the servant to his master *may not be* the same. The argument proves too much to be good for any thing.

If *servant* necessarily meant *slave*, we might possibly be driven to grant that the very prohibition against *coveting* a man's property, is a good warrant for *taking* the man, property, and all. But as there is no necessity of understanding servant to mean *slave*, and as it is no more than fair to allow, while we may, that the tenth commandment is not a piece of nonsense, we must be permitted to wonder that a *slaveholder* should dare to meddle with it. THOU SHALT NOT COVET ANY THING THAT IS THY NEIGHBOR'S. How, then, canst thou pretend to be the *owner* of thy neighbor himself? How canst thou say that thy neighbor can "possess nothing, nor acquire any thing," but what must be thine? "Thou shalt not covet," cries the preacher, and at the same moment he holds several of his neighbors as mere "*chattels personal*," under an overseer whose business it is to get out of them as much work as he can, *without paying for it*. Every hour of the slave's labor is coveted, every blow he strikes is coveted; if it were not so, he would be free. Here, then, we take our stand on the tenth commandment; it cuts up the whole system of American slavery, branch and root; it digs under, and turns out of the soil, the whole thing. The slaveholder violates no positive commandment, it is said. Nay, he violates the tenth commandment, from one end of it to the other; and more than violates it, for he not only covets his neighbor's property, all that *is* his, but he covets all that he *may* or *can* have—he covets the man himself, and *puts his covetousness thoroughly in practice*. There is but one road which leads to slaveholding, and

that is the road of *covetousness*. The Bible forbids a single step in that road. How, then, did the slaveholder get to the end of it without violating the commandment?

But again, suppose for the sake of the argument that the man-servant and the maid-servant were slaves in the Carolina sense of the word. Does it follow, because I may not *covet* George McDuffie's *slaves*, that he has a right to hold them? Or, does it follow from the fourth commandment, that because George McDuffie has no right to make his slaves work on the sabbath, he *has* a right to drive them to his cotton fields every other day in the week? No such thing. No matter whether the people to whom the Decalogue was addressed *did have* slaves or not, both the eighth and the tenth commandments settle the question that they *ought not to have had them*. They were solemnly prohibited from taking a step *towards* having them.

So far as the cause of immediate emancipation is concerned, we might rest the case here. After getting the command, Thou shalt not eat of the fruit of a certain tree, we see no need of waiting for another command, Thou shalt not eat a bushel of that fruit; nor of ransacking the sacred pages to find a permission directly to the contrary. But as slaveholders will have it that slavery is a divine ordinance, for *the Bible's sake* we will endeavor to find what ground they have to stand on. We will endeavor to find where it is that the charter of the world's liberties makes merchandise of men,—in what part of the tidings of "peace on earth and good-will to men," it is, that some men are made the property of others.

THE CURSE OF NOAH.

And Noah said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Gen. ix, 25.

Slaveholders must perform two impossibilities before they can get any authority for their deeds from this text.

1. They must prove that this passage is a command, or at least a permission to enslave the descendants of Canaan, and not a mere prophecy that they would be enslaved. For a mere prophecy would no more justify them, than the abundant prophecies of Christ's death justified his murderers.

2. They must prove that the very people they hold as slaves are the bonâ fide descendants of Canaan. It will not do to say that they are probably descended from Ham the father of Canaan. Ham had three sons besides Canaan; viz., Cush, Misraim, and Phut. And we are not told that either of these or their father was placed under the curse. If the slaveholders must needs be the executioners of the divine sentence upon the devoted descendants of Canaan, let them see to it that they do not get hold of the wrong victims. The sheriff who hangs a man not named in his warrant, becomes a murderer. There are surely ten chances to one that the southern slaves are Cushites and not Canaanites; but, if they were Canaanites, how do their oppressors know that the curse has not spent its force? One would think from the scripture history, that the punishment of the wretched Canaanites did not lack much of being complete some scores of centuries ago.

PATRIARCHAL SERVITUDE.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had servants born in their houses, and bought with their money.

It would be difficult, however, to show that their conduct in this matter is commended to us as an example, any more than their having a plurality of wives. But suppose it an example. What is it? They had *servants*, and their having a great many went to show their riches. Some of their servants were bought with their money, and some were born with them. But were any of them *slaves?* Yes, the slaveholder will say, if they were *bought*. We say, no. This will depend upon the questions, who was the seller, and what were the conditions of the *sale*. It may have been that the persons bought were *parties to the bargain*, and instead of selling the absolute ownership of their lives and limbs, they only stipulated to perform certain services. It is impossible for the slaveholder to prove that this was *not* the case, while there are several reasons why we may fairly presume it was.

1. The fact that in those primitive times it was customary for a man, who was become poor, to sell himself as the servant of some rich man. See Leviticus xxv, 47, and Genesis xlvii, 19. The phrase, to sell one's self, is common in Scripture. See 2 Kings xvii, 17; Isa. l, 1, and lii, 3.

2. From the occupation and mode of life of the patriarchs, their servants could have been of no value at all to them, unless they acted *voluntarily*. It is difficult to see how wandering shepherds, whose slaves, if we must call them such, were employed in tending their flocks, could have prevented any one from escaping when he pleased, or have recovered any one after his escape. Think of the awkwardness of setting a driver, with his slave-whip, to drive a parcel of slaves *to look after his master's cattle*, as they browse over the hills.

3. We read in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that Abraham *armed* 318 of his trained servants, and led them out on a military adventure. Such a procedure would be madness on the part of a southern slaveholder. It shows that Abraham's servants were not slaves whom he held against their will, but rather the free subjects of a liberal prince.

Again, the mere act of buying a man with money does not make him a slave. Men are sometimes bought for the very purpose of setting them *free*. I may buy a man with the expectation of receiving in his services a compensation for the purchase money, and yet lay no claim of property to the man, and pretend to no right to sell him, or to dispose of his person and his labor. A man may sell himself as a servant for life, it being understood that in rendering such service he is ever to be voluntary. But it is absurd to suppose that a man should sell himself to be a *personal chattel*, like the American slave; for in that case the very price received by him at once becomes his master's. When, therefore, we read of the patriarchs buying men with money, and of men selling themselves for money, we are called upon to believe nothing more than that the parties bargained together, the one party paying money, and the other service—we surely are not called upon

to believe that either party annihilated itself or bargained itself into a nullity, as the servant must have done if he became a slave.

As to the servants who were born in the families of the patriarchs, they could not have been born to a worse condition than that into which their parents had sold themselves—viz., a condition of voluntary service.

What likeness any mortal can discover between Abraham as a master of servants, and one of our southern planters as the owner of his *gang*, it is utterly beyond our power to imagine. Whoever thinks it would have comported with the character of the father of the faithful to encourage kidnappers and land-pirates by buying their booty, or that it would have become his sanctity and heavenly-mindedness to steal and enslave poor unoffending men and women with his own hands, must enjoy his opinions alone, so far as we are concerned.

We affirm that patriarchal servitude was perfectly *voluntary*, and challenge proof to the contrary. The burden of proof justly lies on those who hold as good authority an example, which, according to their interpretation of it, was openly at war with the moral law of God.

THE MOSAIC BOND SERVICE.

"Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession: they shall be your bondmen for ever." LEVIT. XXV, 44—46.

This means a great deal more to the ear of an American slaveholder than it ever meant to the ear of a Hebrew. The former supposes bondmen and bondmaids to have been men and women *slaves*. He supposes these bondmen might be sold by their masters, that they could "possess nothing, nor acquire any thing," but what would belong to their masters. He supposes they were *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners. In all these suppositions he is mistaken, for the following reasons:

1. There is a total want of proof that they could be sold or alienated in any way.

2. These bondmen and bondmaids could not have been *stolen* men and women, because man-stealing was a capital crime by the law of Moses. "He that *stealeth* a man and *selleth* him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Ex. xxi, 16. This law was of universal application to both Hebrews and heathen, and it is very important to study its bearing. When Moses gave the law, there were of course no bondmen in Israel. The question is, how there could come to be any, according to law. An Israelite might buy a heathen if he had the money; but who should *sell* him? No Israelite or sojourner could take or *steal* a heathen for the market. No heathen from abroad could bring *stolen* heathen into Israel for sale. Nor would it do to go abroad and buy a man who was *stolen*. There could be no legal

bargain for a bondman, except in the one case where the seller and the sold were the same identical party. In other words, the Israelites could not *buy*, unless the sojourner or the heathen should *sell himself*. But if he sold himself, he must retain his rights as a party, otherwise the sale would be but a trick—man-stealing under another name.

But if the purchased bondmen and bondmaids were not slaves, what were they? In what condition did they serve? We answer, they were people, who, for a valuable consideration, bound themselves to obey all lawful commands of a master till the year of Jubilee, if they should live to see it. Their bodies and souls, and their offspring, were their own; their service was their master's; and to this extent they were his possession, and might be handed down to his children.

But were they not to be "bondmen *for ever?*" Does not this mean that they were to serve for life, and their children after them, from generation to generation? Certainly not. The law of the Jubilee was express and universal.* "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF." The clause, "and they shall be your bondmen forever," must be interpreted in consistency with this law of Jubilee. If we look again attentively at the whole verse, we shall see that the heathen are distinguished, in regard to bond service, from the Israelites; so that the sense is, your servants shall always be of the heathen, but over your own brethren, the Israelites, ye shall not exercise such authority. Why God made this distinction between the Israelites and the heathen, it may not be necessary for us here to inquire; it is sufficient to know that the law did not allow the infringement of any man's rights—it did not tolerate the slavery of even a heathen.

But some one may ask, did not the Israelitish master, under the law, have power to beat and bruise, to flog and maul, his bond servant? Does not the law say, that if the master smite his servant so as to kill him, but not within a day or two, he shall not be punished, "for he (the servant) *is his money?*" So it does. But this surely does not confer upon the master the *right* to beat with the rod. It only presupposes that he *might do so*, and points out the law of evidence by which he should be judged. The facts, that the servant was worth money to the master, and that he continued a day or two, were evidence that the master did not *design* to kill him.

But, let us interpret the permission to buy bondmen as we will, there was another provision of the law which made it absolutely impossible to hold bondmen as slaves. Such a provision of law, if proclaimed now in these United States, in the ears of bond and free, would put an end to slavery almost as soon as an act of universal, immediate abolition. If it had been the law of the land from the first, slavery would never have existed. What would our slaveholders say of an act of congress, giving to slaves universally permission to run away; or, what is the same thing, forbidding the delivering up of any fugitive? They would call it the destruction of their peculiar property, and very justly. Yet, when they quote the passage in Leviti-

* The fact is manifestly recognised by the Saviour, when he says, John viii, 35, "The *servant* abideth not in the house *for ever*, but the son abideth ever."

cus as a divine permission of slavery—the sacred ordinance thereof—they are sure to forget that there is in Deuteronomy precisely such a law as we have described—a law which protected every fugitive *in remaining in the place which he chose.* You may buy, says the divine law, as many bondmen of the heathen as you please; but remember, you buy them under the following law: ☞ "THOU SHALT NOT DELIVER UNTO HIS MASTER THE SERVANT WHICH IS ESCAPED FROM HIS MASTER UNTO THEE. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place WHICH HE SHALL CHOOSE, in one of thy gates WHERE IT LIKETH HIM BEST: thou shalt not oppress him."* DEUT. xxiii, 15, 16. Talk about property in human flesh under such a law! Could language more jealously guard the LIBERTY of the servant? If we are led to wonder why the divine law should thus disregard the claim of the master, who had paid his money, and might be able to show before the elders of the city to which his servant had escaped, that the said servant owed him service or labor, we can have full explanation in the fact that the Hebrews were to be kept in mind of their own servitude in the land of Egypt. "Thou shalt not oppress a *stranger:* for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Ex. xxiii, 9. "Thou shalt remember that thou wast a *bondman* in the land of Egypt," &c. (DEUT. xv, 15—xvi, 12—xxiv, 18, 22, and many other places.) Hence the divine law took the very fact of a bondman's fleeing as good evidence against the master's claim, and allowed him to offer no proof, nor enter into any proceedings whatever, for his recovery. O how we wish this humane, this Godlike law, were the statute law of our land! But let slaveholders and their abettors remember, that in the court of conscience it is law yet. Its principle and moral force has never been annulled.

How, then, stands the matter of Mosaic bondservice? Thus: the liberty of every poor man, Hebrew or heathen, is guarded by the sword of Jehovah, before and behind. The permission to *buy* bondservants *stands between* two effectual safeguards of inalienable rights.

1. The law awarded *death* to the man who sold another without his consent.

2. It shielded any and every fugitive from the possibility of an involuntary recovery.

And all this was not enough. Lest, even under these safeguards, the rich should take too great advantage of the poor, and forget that God has made men equal, every fiftieth year proclaimed LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

Hallelujah to the God of the Bible! We ask no better act of abolition than this.

* It is objected by some commentators that this law applied only to foreign servants escaping into Israel. But, in the first place, the comment is wholly gratuitous, and, in the second, if Israel had given this protection to foreign slaves, foreign masters would have taken good care to accommodate fugitive Israelites.

THE PROPHETS.

"Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; *that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work;*——did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgment and justice, and then it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the Lord." JER. xxii, 13—16.

Jeremiah was called an incendiary in his own day, and thrust into a filthy dungeon, from which he was relieved by the kindness of a certain negro, named Ebedmelech. He was not a man to flatter oppressors, and we might quote many more passages from his writings, which we presume are never preached from in southern pulpits. His "*woe*" rests upon every slaveholder. Yet his prophecy is to be found within the lids of the Bible.

But Jeremiah is not the only anti-slavery prophet. Isaiah, the son of Amoz, wrote very severe things against slaveholders. Indeed, he "lifted up his voice like a trumpet" on the very subject of immediate emancipation. For there were in his time a set of people who made great pretensions to *piety*, put on long, sanctified faces, fasted and afflicted their souls religiously, but in the midst of it all *exacted* the labor of the poor, and made great use of the "fast of wickedness." Isaiah plainly tells them what sort of fasting would be more acceptable to the Lord. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and *to let the oppressed go free*, and that ye BREAK EVERY YOKE?" Some learned divines of our day tell us that this does not refer to the yoke of slavery, but to the oppression of poor debtors. Very well. Our argument is much obliged to the reverend doctors. The crime, then, of the sanctimonious aristocrats whom the prophet here rebukes, was that of rigorously exacting labor of their poor debtors. This was the yoke they were to break. What would he not have said if they had been guilty of exacting labor with the cart-whip of those who owed them not a penny? Ah! would he have hushed his voice and spared his crying aloud, if every sixth man in Israel had been reduced, without either crime or debt, to the condition of a chattel—a brute beast? Our slaveholders make as much show of piety, but their oppression is tenfold more cruel, and of course the language of the prophet applies to them with tenfold force.

This is only a sample of the language of the prophets. No man can read a tithe of their generous and indignant denunciations of oppression of all sorts, and believe that the Bible sanctions the mean,

piratical, abominable system of property in human flesh. We hasten to say a few words of

CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." *Matt.* vii, 12.

Ingenuous slaveholders (for there are such) are often troubled with this divine interpretation of the "law and the prophets." And well they may be. None so careful as slaveholders to exact of others due deference to their rights;—"the loudest yelps for LIBERTY" are from the drivers of negroes, and their consciences may well ask them, in view of Christ's rule, Why don't you extend to others what you are so ready to require of them?

CHRIST. Are you willing men should hold you in bondage, as mere merchandise?

SLAVEHOLDERS. No. We would die first.

CHRIST. Then release your slaves instantly.

This is the whole of the matter, as it stands between Christ and slaveholders. Now see how they writhe on the point of the divine argument. They say, to be sure, we ought to do to our slaves what we, in a change of circumstances, should wish them to do to us, *consistently with the relation existing between us.** A pretty way to *beg the question!* The very point to be considered is, whether the *relation* itself is consistent with the Saviour's rule.—Do to others as you would be done by. Would you think it right for another, under any pretences, to place himself in the relation of an *owner* to you? No. Then why do so to him? "Oh," says Professor Dew,† "the benevolence of the Omnipotent has made the mind of man pliant and susceptible of happiness in almost every situation and employment." Hence, he infers, we should not judge the slaves by ourselves. They may be much happier than we are. This is the same logic that the tender-hearted fishmonger applied to his eels, which suffered less when *skinned alive*, because they were *used to it.* The slaves have become accustomed to the yoke, and it is no longer an inconvenience to their necks, though with our habits and feelings we would rather die than wear it. Thus do some slaveholders get along with the Saviour's rule, break it all to pieces, and do as they like.

Others acknowledge that in the abstract the rule forbids slavery, but then, why did not Christ and his apostles so apply it? Slavery

* See Rev. Dr. Furman's Exposition of the Views of the Baptists of S. C.

† Anti-Slavery Record, Vol. I, p. 47

existed in their days, yet they never once said it was opposed to the "law and the prophets." They did not "preach up an abolition crusade." Well, suppose they did not. Here are the "law and the prophets," which speak for themselves. The rule is as clear as the multiplication table. I might as well say, To be sure, by the multiplication table, applied to the question, the interest on a thousand dollars for one year, at six per cent., is sixty dollars; *but* the inventor of the table made no such application, although there were dollars and interest in his day as well as ours,—therefore I'll not believe in interest! But how do we *know* that Christ did not apply his rule to the slaveholders of his day? Why, because it is not written in his history. Well, is every thing that he did recorded there? No. St. John says, if it had been, the world itself could not have contained the books! Hence the wisdom of applying the general principles of the Saviour only where we *know* that He applied them. Let us put the compass He has left us in our pockets, and go only where we can see the wake of His boat on the waters, and His foot-prints on the sand!

But the testimony of the New Testament against slavery, as it now exists, is not confined to its pure and philanthropic general principles. Paul classes *men-stealers* with the vilest of criminals.* The word he uses is *andrapodistai*, literally *enslavers*, *man-merchants*. It designates all those who are guilty of bringing their fellow-men into, or retaining them in the condition of *andrapoda*—slaves. Here the apostle strikes at the foundation of American slavery, as a system of *man-merchandise*. He classes all who take part in it with murderers, whoremongers, liars, and perjured persons. Let it not be said that he elsewhere speaks of masters as "worthy of all honor," &c. These masters he calls *despotai* or *kurioi*, and the servants *douloi* or *oiketai*, words which every Greek scholar knows to be perfectly general, and to include masters and servants, who stand on a perfect equality of rights, as well as others. Before slaveholders can claim that they were favorably noticed by the apostle, they must prove that he noticed them at all, except under the epithet "*men-stealers*." In all that he has said about *despotai* and *kurioi*, he *may* have referred only to those who were the masters of voluntary servants. He certainly did not refer particularly to slaveholders; whereas, the word *andrapodistai* refers exclusively to them. American slaveholders are all ANDRAPODISTS, and their poor slaves are emphaticallv ANDRAPODES—*men trampled under foot—down-trodden.*

* 1 Tim. i, 10.

Again, the apostle James denounces expressly those who withhold the HIRE of the laborer. "Behold, the *hire* of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." JAMES v, 4. What could be more pointedly and expressly aimed at slaveholders? They keep back the *hire* by system. The profits of labor belong of right to the laborer. The slaveholder takes the whole to himself. No matter how great the demand for labor, the slave reaps from it only loss, and stripes, and tears. He is driven the harder, and fares no better. The prosperity of his master is woe to him. The riches of the whole South is built on the *hire* of the laborer, KEPT BACK!

Again, Paul says to the Corinthians (I Cor. vi, 10), "Be not deceived,—neither thieves nor covetous,—nor *extortioners*,—shall inherit the kingdom of God." Here are three classes of violators of their neighbors' rights. The latter epithet designates those who *force* others to contribute to their wealth. It will be applicable to slaveholders so long as slavery is a system of *compulsory* labor.

But our opponents will tell us that all servants are commanded to obey their masters, no exception being made of slaves. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor,"—i. e. *respect—observance*—why? Mark the reason which the apostle assigns, "*that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.*"* The apostle nowhere enjoins obedience to masters because they have a *right* to it, as parents have to that of their children. The very reason here assigned implies that they *might* not have. Christian servants were to submit to extortion for the *gospel's sake.*

But were there not "*believing* masters," who held servants "under the yoke?" Doubtless masters were converted who *had* held servants in that manner. But as believing masters, they could do so no longer. They must now "give unto their servants that which is *just and equal.*" Servants are exhorted not to "despise," that is, to continue in the service of such masters, not, surely, because the "*yoke*" was a righteous one, but because the brotherhood of the gospel had broken it.

What does Paul say to Philemon in the case of Onesimus? "Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to *enjoin* thee that which is convenient,"— i. e., *right*, or *just*,—"yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee," &c. And what did he beseech? Why, that Philemon should receive Onesimus, "not now *as a servant*, but above

* 1 Tim. vi, 1

a servant, a *brother* beloved,——both in the *flesh* and in the Lord." And Paul further says to Philemon, "having confidence in thy *obedience*, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say." Does this look like sanctioning Philemon's *property* in Onesimus?

Oh! it is a foul slander to say that the Bible, either by its words or its silence, sanctions holding men as merchandise. It is blasphemy against the blessed Saviour, who came to "preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised," to say that he lends his sanction to the chains of a merciless personal bondage.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American A. S. Society, from October 18th to November 16th, 1836.

Albany, N. Y.,	Miss C. Penniman,	$10 00
" "	Ladies,	2 50
Ashburnham, Mass.,	ladies, by Mrs. H. M. Bancroft,	8 00
Boston,	" from colored friends,	30 12
Bradford,	" A. S. Society,	50 00
Cummington,	" from friends, per A. B. Warner,	20 00
Clinton, N. Y.,	Rev. H. H. Kellogg,	5 00
Cumberland, R. I.,	from a lady, by A. Fairbanks,	15 00
Greenville, Conn.,	A. S. Society, per W. H. Coit,	28 00
Kingston, N. Y.,	Rev. J. Lilley,	1 00
North Yarmouth, Me.,	A. S. Society,	6 00
Norfolk, N. Y.,	N. Sackrider,	3 00
New York city,	from friends,	1 75
" "	John Rankin, for Sept., Oct., and Nov.,	300 00
Ohio State A. S. Society,	by E. Weed,	10 93
Pittsburgh, Pa.,	from J. P. Gazzam, $20	
" "	" B. Brown, 10	
" "	" W. H. Clark, 10	
" "	" John Hannen, 10	
" "	" J. B. Gribble, 5	
" "	" J. B. Gribble, jr., 5	
" "	" John Dickson, 5	
" "	" John Marshall, 5	
" "	" H. C. Howells, 5	
		75 00
Richland, N. Y.,	Mrs. and Miss Holmes,	2 00
Rochester, "	female A. S. Society, on account of pledge,	45 00
Union College, N. Y.,	per G. L. Le Roe,	8 00
Washington, Conn.,	D. G. Platt,	6 00
Woodstock (North), Conn.,	from friends,	80
Vernon, N. Y.,	Thomas Williams,	5 00
		$633 15

The following are the particulars of the sum received from H. B. Stanton, and included in the receipts last month:

Boston, Salem street A. S. Soc.,	by I. Field,	100 00
Cambridgeport, Mass.,	A. S. Society,	$45 25
" "	female A. S. Society,	30 00
Dorchester, "	A. S. Society,	100 00
Groton, "	A. S. Society,	65 00
" "	female A. S. Society,	35 00
" "	a lady,	5 00
Newburyport, "	female A. S. Society,	36 05
Plymouth co., "	A. S. Society, by G. Russell, Esq.,	12 00
Weymouth and Braintree Union A. S. Society,		25 00
A friend,		17
		$453 42

LEWIS TAPPAN, Assistant Treasurer,
No. 3, Spruce St.
New York, November 16, 1836.

Quarterly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, during the month of October, 1836.

Haddam, Conn.,	D. C. Tyler,	$1 50
Honesdale, Pa.,	S. Stevens,	25
Marcellus, N. Y.,	A. Rockwell,	4 50
New York city,	H. Owen,	25
" "	J. Usmar,	25
"	Mills, N. Y., per J. Pettibone,	3 18
" "	" Geo. Peacock,	12 00
Norwalk, Conn.,	J. Warner,	7 00
Philadelphia, Pa.,	Lucretia Mott,	25 00
Sandy Hill, N. Y.,	Sarah Stow,	50
Sing Sing, "	C. Roscoe,	1 00
Tompkinsville, N. Y.,	Wm. McGeorge,	4 25
Received for the Emancipator,		142 50
" "	Human Rights,	27 25
" "	A. S. Record,	2 75
" "	Quarterly Magazine,	21 50
" "	Publications,	285 96
		$539 64

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, (No. 3 Spruce.)

Total Receipts, $1172 79

LEWIS DESROULEAUX.

A planter of St. Domingo had a confidential slave, whom he was perpetually flattering with the hope of speedy freedom; but the more pains this favorite took to render himself useful, the more firmly were his fetters riveted. Lewis Desrouleaux, whose schemes for obtaining his liberty rendered him very economical and laborious, soon amassed funds more than sufficient to purchase his freedom. He offered them with transport for the purchase of his independence, which had been so often promised him. "I have too long traded with the blood of my fellow-creatures," said his master to him, in a tone of humiliation: "be free; you restore me to myself." Immediately the master, whose heart had rather been led astray than corrupted, sold all his effects, and embarked for France. He was obliged to pass through Paris, in order to reach his province. His intention was to make but a short stay in that metropolis; but the various pleasures he met with in the capital, detained him until he had foolishly dissipated the riches which he had acquired. In his despair, he thought it less humiliating to solicit, in America, assistance from those who were obliged to him for their advancement, than to ask it in Europe of those who had ruined him.

His arrival at Cape François, in St. Domingo, caused a general surprise. No sooner was his situation known, than he was generally forsaken; all doors were shut against him; no heart was moved by compassion. He found himself reduced to the necessity of passing the remainder of his days in that retirement and obscurity which is the consequence of indigence, and especially when merited, when Lewis Desrouleaux came to throw himself at his feet. "Condescend," said that virtuous man, "to accept the house of your slave: you shall be served, obeyed, and beloved in it." But soon perceiving that the respect which is due to the unfortunate did not render his old master happy, he pressed him to retire to France. "My gratitude will follow you," said he, embracing his knees: "here is a contract for an annual income of one thousand five hundred livres, (sixty-two pounds,) which I conjure you to accept. This fresh instance of your goodness will be the comfort of my days." The annuity was always paid beforehand; and some presents, as tokens of friendship, constantly accompanied it from St. Domingo to France.—*Raynal's European Settlements.*

Prince Naimbanna, of Sierra Leone, who was in England during the discussion of the slave-trade in parliament, talking one day of a distinguished member of the house who proposed the gradual abolition of the slave-trade, said, "Mr. ——— should have his carriage drawn by asses, for they go very gradually."—*Wadstrom's Essay on Colonization.*

INTEGRITY—AVARICE.

A man residing near Washington, had a slave of such known integrity and industry, that, for many years, it was his practice to send him to Baltimore, with his wagon laden with various produce, the sale of which he entrusted to this slave; by which means large sums of money often passed through his hands. He performed this service so much to his master's satisfaction, that he scarcely ever employed any other person for these purposes.

This faithful slave had a wife and a large family of children, who resided in a hut close to his master's house. He was allowed a small portion of time, weekly, to do something for himself; and being frequently employed by the neighbors to do little errands for them in Baltimore, he had, during many years of care, and frequently by hard labor when others were at rest, scraped together about two hundred pounds. He made an offer of all this to his master, for the freedom of his family; but the master refused to give him his liberty on any condition, alleging that he could not meet with another in whom he could so confide. On finding his master inexorable, his disappointment and distress were extreme; and, in the anguish of his heart, he determined to leave his wife and children, and take the first opportunity of quitting the country for ever. However, he concluded to call on a person who had always been his friend and adviser, to inform him of his resolution. This friend sympathized with him in his affliction, went immediately to the master, and used every endeavor to prevail upon him to accept the money offered. He represented to him the exceedingly ungenerous return he was making to the poor man, for his fidelity and industry; as the only plea urged by this unfeeling master, for his cruel conduct, was the uprightness and integrity of his slave! But, alas! avarice is deaf to all arguments but those of self-interest. The hardened task-master was inexorable to all reasonings; and as nothing that this friend could say had any effect upon him, he thought it his duty to endeavor to reconcile the poor slave to his hard lot, and to persuade him not to leave his wife and children. In this he was more successful; for the poor man concluded to remain with them, and endeavor to bear his burden with patience.—*Sutcliff's Travels in America.*

☞MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTION PLAN.

As the subscribers and collectors on this plan, do not find it convenient to remit their subscriptions promptly as often as once a month, it has been thought best to change it to a *Quarterly Subscription Plan.* (See next page.) Those who choose can remit once a month as heretofore.

This change has been made to suit the convenience of our friends, who say they can collect and forward subscriptions *promptly* once a quarter, but cannot find time to attend to it once a month. *Punctuality* is the *life* and *soul* of this system. Hereafter, we hope the subscriptions will be promptly remitted as they become due. We wish every one who is willing to act as a collector, immediately to circulate a subscription, ascertain the amount he will become responsible to collect and forward regularly through the year, and give notice to the Publishing Agent, how many Records to forward, to supply each subscriber as stated on the next page.

Some females have with great promptness and efficiency engaged in this work. Are there not many others ready to follow their example, and thus lend their influence to hasten the deliverance of tens of thousands of their sisters from a cruel bondage? Let the Quarterly Subscription Plan be adopted by every friend to our cause, and each one give as the Lord has prospered him; and if scattering *light* and *truth* will bring about the abolition of slavery, the work will be speedily accomplished.

☞ Those whose subscriptions are in arrears for the past year, we hope will make up the deficiency and forward it without delay.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

"In Prussia, liberty of opinion was unlimited. The Marquis of Brandebourg was fully confident that he could not obtain the throne of that country unless with Protestant principles. Since then, things are altered, and the natural defender of our Protestant liberty has connived with the ultra-montane party to suppress it; he even converted to his treacherous designs, that deadly weapon the censorship, invented and directed against us by popery.

"How extraordinary! We Germans are the strongest and the most ingenious people in the world. Princes of our race will be found on every throne in Europe; our Rothschilds are the kings of money; our learned men the sovereigns of science; we are the inventors of printing and gunpowder, and still one of us dare not fire a pistol-shot under pain of being fined three dollars for the offence; and when one of us inserted the following paragraph in the *Gazette de Hambourg*, 'I have the pleasure of informing my friends and acquaintances, that my wife has given birth to a child as beautiful as *liberty*,' Doctor Hoffmann takes a red pencil and erases the word 'liberty.'

"Whether this will last much longer, I cannot say; but this I know, the question of the liberty of the press which at the present moment is the subject of such vehement debates in Germany, is significantly connected with the questions I have discussed above; and I have an idea its solution will not be attended with material difficulty, if we for a moment consider that the liberty of the press is the mere consequence of liberty of opinion, and, therefore, incontestably a Protestant right. Germany has already shed her most precious blood for the maintenance of similar rights, and her natural courage may possibly be again put to the test in the present instance."—*H. Heine, as quoted by the Westminster Review.*

A SLAVE EXECUTION.

"A narrative of the life and adventures of Charles Ball," formerly a slave in Georgia, is about to be published at Lewistown, Pa. Its authenticity is well vouched. From a portion of it, published in the Lewistown Republican, we take the following paragraphs. The facts occurred in Georgia, and the narrator was called as a witness on the trial. It is necessary to premise, that Lucy was the housekeeper and *mistress* of her master. Being more attached to a young slave, named Frank, on a neighboring plantation, she conspired with him to murder her master. The only witness of the deed was another slave named Billy, who on the trial was found innocent of any participation.

"On the morning of the execution, my master told me, and all the rest of his people, that we must go to the *hanging*, as it was termed by him as well as others. The place of punishment was only two miles from my master's residence, and I was there in time to get a good stand near the gallows tree; by which I was enabled to see all the proceedings connected with this solemn affair. It was estimated by my master, that there were at least fifteen thousand people present at this scene, more than half of whom were blacks; all the masters for a great distance round the country having permitted or compelled their people to come to this *hanging*.

[*See Cover, page* 3.]

"Billy was brought to the gallows with Lucy and Frank; but was permitted to walk beside the cart in which they rode. Under the gallows, after the rope was about her neck, Lucy confessed that the murder had been designed by her in the first place, and that Frank had only perpetrated it at her instance. She said she had at first intended to apply to Billy to assist her in the undertaking; but had afterwards communicated her designs to Frank, who offered to shoot her master, if she would supply him with a gun, and let no other person be in the secret. A long sermon was preached by a white man under the gallows, which was only the limb of a tree, and afterwards an exhortation was delivered by a black one. The two convicts were hung together, and after they were quite dead, a consultation was held amongst the gentlemen, as to the future disposition of Billy, who having been in the house where his master was murdered, and not having given immediate information of the fact, was held to be guilty of concealing the death; and was accordingly sentenced to receive five hundred lashes. I was in the branches of a tree, close by the place where this court was held; and distinctly heard its proceedings and judgment. Some went to the woods to cut hickories, whilst others stripped Billy and tied him to a tree. More than twenty long switches, some of them six or seven feet in length, had been procured; and two men applied the rods at the same time, one standing on each side of the culprit; one of them using his left hand. I had often seen black men whipped, and had always, where the lash was applied with great severity, heard the sufferer cry out and beg for mercy; but in this case the pain inflicted by these double blows of the hickory, was so intense, that Billy never uttered so much as a groan; and I do not believe he breathed for the space of two minutes after he received the first strokes. He shrunk his body close to the trunk of the tree, around which his arms and legs were lashed; drew his shoulders up to his head like a dying man, and trembled, or rather shivered in all his members. The blood flowed from the commencement, and in a few minutes lay in small puddles at the root of the tree. I saw flakes of flesh as long as my finger fall out of the gashes in his back; and I believe he was insensible during all the time that he was receiving the last two hundred lashes. When the whole five hundred had been counted by the person appointed to perform this duty, the half-dead body was unbound and laid in the shade of the tree upon which I sat. The gentlemen who had done the whipping, eight or ten in number, being joined by their friends, then came under the tree, and drank punch until their dinner was made ready, under a booth of green boughs at a short distance.

"After dinner, Billy, who had been groaning on the ground where he was laid, was taken up, placed in the cart in which Lucy and Frank had been brought to the gallows, and conveyed to the dwelling of his late master, where he was confined to the house and his bed more than three months, and was never worth much afterwards, while I remained in Georgia.

"Certainly those who were hanged well deserved their punishment, but it was a very arbitrary exercise of power to whip a man until he was insensible, because he did not prevent a murder which was committed without his knowledge; and I could not understand the right of punishing him because he was so weak or timorous, as to refrain from a disclosure of the crime the moment it came to his ears."

For the Record.

FACTS WORTH REMEMBERING.

[Oh, the fanatics!]

Dr. Adam Smith, as early as 1759, held up the people of color in an honorable, and their tyrants, in a degrading light.

John Wesley, in 1774, undertook the cause of the poor people of color.

The Abbé Proyart, in 1776, published at Paris his History of Loango, and other kingdoms in Africa, in which he did ample justice to the moral and intellectual character of the natives there.

David Hartley, M. P., son of Dr. D. H., made a motion in the House of Commons, in 1776, "That the Slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God, and the rights of men."

Dr. Gregory, in 1784, in his Essays Historical and Moral, gave a circumstantial account of the Slave-trade, and expressed his abhorrence of it.

James Ramsay, Vicar of Treston in Kent, Eng., became an able, zealous, and indefatigable patron of the cause of the people of color in 1784.

M. Necker, in 1785, in his work on the French Finances, came out in the cause of the people of color. [His grand-daughter is the present Dutchess de Broglie, wife of the Prime minister of France, a pious lady and an abolitionist.]

The poet Cowper, in 1785, uttered his sentiments in regard to the cruel system of slavery.

George Fox, the founder of the society of friends, took strong and decided ground against the slave-trade.

Richard Baxter left his testimony against the wicked traffic in human flesh.

Anthony Benezet, was born at St. Quintin, in Picardy, France, and died in Philadelphia, in 1784. He was one of the most zealous, vigilant, and active advocates which the cause of the oppressed people of color ever had.

George Whitfield, in 1789, turned the attention of many to the hard case of the people of color.

Dr. Benj. Rush, of Philadelphia, purchased a pew in St. Thomas's Church, (colored) and attended public worship with the oppressed people of color. In consequence he lost half his practice, but afterwards public opinion changed, and he recovered his professional business.

Mr. Roscoe, of Liverpool, Eng., worte a Poem, about forty years ago, entitled "The wrongs of Africa," and gave the profits of it to the Committee of Inquiry into the condition of the people of color.

Mirabeau, in 1789, lent his whole strength and influence to the cause of the people of color.

Mr. Wedgwood made his manufactory of earthen ware, contribute to the cause of the oppressed during the early struggle of the abolitionists in England.

SONNET.

TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ., APRIL 16, 1792.

By William Cowper.

Thy country, Wilberforce, with just disdain,
Hears thee by cruel men, and impious called
Fanatic, for thy zeal to loose the enthrall'd
From exile, public sale, and slavery's chain.
Friend of the poor, the wronged, the fetter-gall'd,
Fear not lest labors such as thine be vain.
Thou hast achieved a part; hast gained the ear
Of Britain's Senate to thy glorious cause;
Hope smiles, joy springs, and the cold cautious pause
And weave delay, the better hour is near,
That shall remunerate thy toils severe
By peace for Afric, fenced with British laws.
Enjoy what thou hast won, esteem and love
From all the just on earth, and all the blest above.

"WE NO SEN', YOU NO COME."

Some years ago a number of Negroes, in Jamaica, escaped from the cruel bondage of their task-masters; and, retiring into an uninhabited part of the island, built a little town, which they called, "*We no sen', you no come.*" Here they lived some years peaceably, industriously, and comfortably, upon the fruits of their labor; having about two hundred acres of land, thickly planted with provisions, in the finest condition, with abundance of hogs and poultry. They thought that, if they kept themselves at home, they could not be discovered; and if they did not meddle with others, others could not meddle with them. However, in the year 1825, they were discovered by the whites, who sent out an armed force against them, destroyed their town and provision-grounds, and killed, took prisoners, or dispersed, the whole of this happy and peaceable community.

A Shooting Excursion.

NOTICE.

All donors to the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the amount of ten dollars or more a year, shall be entitled on application at the Society's office, to one copy of each of the publications published by the Society; and each donor of five dollars and less than ten dollars, shall be entitled to receive one copy of each of the periodical publications issued by the Society during such year.

QUARTERLY ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE.

This work is issued on the first days of October, January, April, and July. Its plan comprises,

1. *Original Essays* on subjects connected with the Abolition of Slavery.
2. *Reviews* of works on such subjects.
3. *Facts* pertaining to the System of American Slavery, and our colored population generally.
4. Anti-Slavery Intelligence from abroad.
5. Notices of works which relate to Slavery.
6. Interesting selections, in prose and verse.
7. A brief summary of the progress of the Abolition cause.

The price is one dollar a year, *always in advance.* Any individual remitting five dollars *free of postage*, will receive *six copies.*

FACTS FROM THE WEST INDIES.

A highly intelligent and respectable gentleman, who has been long resident in Jamaica, called lately at the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and made the following statements.

1. The troubles which succeeded the change from slavery to apprenticeship in Jamaica, arose from the perverse conduct of overseers and managers, who took great pains, by the most cruel and arbitrary measures to provoke the apprentices to acts of insubordination.

2. The state of things is now better. The planters themselves begin to be satisfied with the change, and confess that they have suffered no loss by it.

3. The schools and churches of all denominations are thronged. All classes of the emancipated manifest the greatest anxiety to learn.

4. Formerly, the slaves collected on market days, were in rags and wretchedness; now they are, almost without exception, well clothed. The demand for dry goods has greatly increased.

5. The moral condition of the colored population is so much improved, that in the late Christmas holidays—the ten days' carnival of the West Indies—there was not a single arrest for improper conduct on their part in the city of Kingston.

6. Heretofore the military force in Jamaica has been obliged to make incessant and fatiguing marches to preserve order, and this at an expense of about four hundred lives per annum; last year the troops have occupied but three or four stations, it has not been necessary to move a man, and good health has been preserved. There is now not the slightest fear of insurrection.

7. There is the utmost readiness on the part of the apprentices to work for wages, *in their own time*, and such labor can be had *for one penny an hour.*

8. *The remaining time* (four years) *of an apprentice is now selling for as much in Jamaica as the whole man would have brought before the passage of the emancipation act!*

How honorable is this testimony to the emancipated slave, and how perfectly conclusive of the safety of emancipation! Yet all this has been achieved in spite of the most obstinate determination on the part of the planters, and especially of the overseers and managers, to frustrate the experiment and adhere to the WHIP. We have some remarkable proofs of this dogged and inhuman obstinacy. The following may be relied on as authentic.

Extracts from the letter of one of the Jamaica planters to a stipendiary magistrate, requiring him to try some offending negroes.

"On Friday, here, the negroes, contrary to the headman's orders, previous to working the time due, before sundown left the field. The authority of the headman is destroyed, and unless the lash is applied, I see nothing but insubordination and rebellion.

"Lord Chesterfield said to his son, '*The Graces, the Graces, the Graces.*' Now those who know the negro will say, '*the cat, the cat, the cat.*'

"If you will make an example with the above, I shall be glad to see you as soon as convenient. I should *not* like your saying anything about the hours of labor, but leave that to the negroes and myself. Any further interference therein will disturb their confused understanding.

"If we had that brave and most excellent soldier Picton here, with

[*See 3d page of cover.*

the reins in his hands, he would hang some of the black scoundrels of St. Thomas in the vale—proclamations and *talk* won't do for Quashee. Unless you come with the determination to flog, I rather you do not come officially.

"When one has to do with a stubborn animal, who will not believe, who will not listen to reason, why then he must be flogged, unless you wish to spoil him.

"I wish you had the command of a good ship, and that you would ship three sturdy magistrates, not of the class *les amis de noirs*, accompanied by three boatswains six feet high, four feet five across the chest, and quids of tobacco as large as eggs in their cheeks, to start our black savages with ropes' ends. It would do both their morals and their understanding a great deal of good."

EXPENSE OF CLOTHING SLAVES IN LOUISIANA.

"We shall notice one of the leading facts made known by the Committee of the Baton Rouge Agricultural Society, and conclude. It seems that the whole cost of clothing eighty full hands is only one thousand two hundred dollars a year; that is, fifteen dollars a person."—*Niles' Register*, Vol. 39, p. 211.

CONSISTENCY OF A REVOLUTIONARY HERO.

"A few days ago passed through this town the Hon. General Gates and lady, on their way to take possession of their new and elegant seat on the banks of the East River. The General, previous to leaving Virginia, summoned his numerous family and slaves about him, and amidst their tears of affection and gratitude, gave them their FREEDOM; and what is still better, made provision that their liberty should be a blessing to them."—*Baltimore paper, Sept.* 8, 1790.

NOTICE.

All donors to the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the amount of ten dollars or more a year, shall be entitled on application at the Society's office, to one copy of each of the publications published by the Society; and each donor of five dollars, and less than ten dollars, shall be entitled to receive one copy of each of the periodical publications issued by the Society during such year.

QUARTERLY ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE.

This work is issued on the first days of October, January, April and July. Its plan comprises,

1. *Original Essays* on subjects connected with the Abolition of Slavery.
2. *Reviews* of works on such subjects.
3. *Facts* pertaining to the System of American Slavery, and our colored population generally.
4. Anti-Slavery Intelligence from abroad.
5. Notices of works which relate to Slavery.
6. Interesting selections, in prose and verse.
7. A brief summary of the progress of the Abolition cause.

The price is one dollar a year, *always in advance.* Any individual remitting five dollars, *free of postage*, will receive *six copies.*

THE LICENTIOUSNESS OF SLAVERY.

At the first anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May, 1834, Mr. James A. Thome of Kentucky, made a most astounding disclosure of the licentiousness which grows out of the Slave system in his own State. He closed it with the following emphatic words.

"I would not have you fail to understand that this is a general evil. Sir, what I now say, I say from a deliberate conviction of its truth; let it be felt in the North and rolled back upon the South, that the slave states are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel. (In this, I refer to the inmates of the kitchen, and not to the whites.) * * * * Let me be understood here: this pollution is the offspring of Slavery; it springs not from the *character* of the *negro*, but from the *condition* of the *slave*."

The unbounded wrath and railing with which this disclosure was received in a certain quarter, is indicated by the following sentence from Dr. Reese's "Review" of the first Annual Report.

"If this young man [Mr. Thome] had any character to lose, it is forfeited for ever; and having refused to retract, though called upon to do so, the false and offensive statements of his first speech, and repeated in his second; he must endure the brand of a *calumniator*, which the Rev. John Breckenridge, another Kentuckian, *has burned into his forehead*."

Now, what shall be done with the "Kentucky Union, for the moral and religious improvement of the colored race," a Society recently formed of some of the most distinguished gentlemen, both of the clergy and laity at Lexington, Kentucky? In their circular to the ministers of the gospel in the state, they say:—

"To the female character among the black population, we cannot allude but with feelings of the bitterest shame. A similar condition of moral pollution, and utter disregard of a pure and virtuous reputation, is to be found only without the pale of Christendom. That such a state of society should exist in a Christian nation, claiming to be the most enlightened upon earth, without calling forth any particular attention to its existence, though ever before our eyes and in our families, is a moral phenomenon at once unaccountable and disgraceful."

FREE DISCUSSION.

The following is an extract from one of DANIEL WEBSTER's speeches in Congress. If the eloquent lips that so nobly uttered it shall for ever refuse to plead for the down-trodden millions of our brethren in this land of boasted freedom, our hope is that the same God who made them, will make others no less eloquent that will utter the sentiments of a more generous heart.

"Important as I deem it to discuss, on all proper occasions, the policy of the measures at present pursued, it is still more important to

maintain the right of such discussion, in its full and just extent. Sentiments lately sprung up and now growing fashionable, make it necessary to be explicit on this point. The more I perceive a disposition to check the freedom of inquiry by extravagant and unconstitutional pretences, the firmer shall be the tone in which I shall assert, and the freer the manner in which I shall exercise it. It is the ancient and undoubted prerogative of this people, to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a 'homebred right,' a fireside privilege.

"It hath ever been enjoyed in every house, cottage, and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air or walking on the earth. Belonging to private life as a right, it belongs to public life as a duty; and it is the last duty which those whose representative I am, shall find me to abandon. Aiming at all times to be courteous and temperate in its use, except when the right itself shall be questioned, I shall then carry it to its extent. I shall place myself on the extreme boundary of my right, and bid defiance to any arm that would move me from my ground. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise, within this house, and without this house, and in all places; in time of war, in time of peace, and at all times. Living I shall assert it, dying I shall assert it; and should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defence of them."

[From the Emancipator.]

THEOLOGY AND SLAVERY!—*Who buys?*

The following advertisement was copied from a southern paper in one of our news-rooms:

NOTICE.

On the first Monday of February next, will be put up at PUBLIC AUCTION before the *Court House* in Sumpterville and knocked off to the highest bidder, the *following property* belonging to the estate of the late REV. DR. FURMAN, viz:—

A plantation or tract of land on and in the Wateree Swamp, through which the road passes from Statesburg to Columbia, consisting of 2000 *acres of land* of the first class for cotton and corn, and the finest range for stock.

A tract after the first quality of fine land, on the waters of Black River within four miles of Sumpterville, from 600 to 800 acres.

A lot of land in the town of Camden.

A LIBRARY of a miscellaneous character, CHIEFLY THEOLOGICAL.

27 NEGROES.

Some of them very prime. Two mules, one horse and old waggon.

Conditions.—For the Wateree tract, one sixth payable on the first of January, 1836, the balance in five equal instalments. For Black River land, one half on the first of January, 1836, balance in twelve months thereafter. For the Camden lot, a credit of twelve months. *For the negroes*, one half on the first of January, 1836, balance on the first of January, 1837. For *the other property*, cash, bonds or notes, with interest annually on the whole amount, with personal security, if required.

Jan. 17, 1835.

"THE EVIL WAS ENTAILED UPON US."

[From Green's Four Sermons.]

Few can have the face to say, that guilt, like gold, may be transferred by inheritance. It consists in the workings of the heart; and no man when he passes into eternity, leaves his heart behind. Entailed guilt must arise from imitating the sins of progenitors. The doctrine which I would now expose and correct, teaches, that the practice of any vice becomes less and less wicked, as it passes down from generation to generation. In process of time, then, the grossest species of iniquity may lose all its hateful qualities and noxious tendencies. What in the ancestor was damning guilt, in the descendant may be innocent. Crimes, as foul as a demon's heart, may, by this method be reduced to angelic purity! Had this doctrine been admitted by Jehovah, when could he have pronounced the iniquities of the Canaanitish nations "full"? Every new generation of idolaters would have been less guilty than their fathers; till at length a race might have been expected, who should practice the most shocking abominations with innocence and impunity! Had our Saviour admitted this doctrine, on what grounds could He have threatened the guilty men, who were eager to dip their hands in His blood, with a punishment more terribly severe, than fell upon the murderers of prophets? Why, according to this doctrine, the more light the transgressor has, the less guilt he contracts! He may sympathize in the wicked feelings, and approve the wicked deeds of his fathers, and thus awaken his heart to the worst exercises, without partaking of his father's guilt! He may see his father bleeding, groaning, dying under the weight of his iniquities; and eagerly embrace and recklessly practice the same iniquities with comparative impunity! Such doctrine bears upon its face the stamp of absurdity and impiety. The falsehood, which it carries in it, is only equalled by the mischiefs which it is fitted to produce.

And yet, some philosophers have the face to tell us, that it is a full excuse for certain crimes, that they have long and stoutly been persisted in! They have been for ages, the dying legacy of fathers to their children. And what less could the ill-fated children do, than thankfully to take and eagerly enjoy the foul inheritance! How hard must be the heart, which could blame them for the sins which have been entailed upon them! On this ground it is, that we sometimes witness efforts to vindicate slave-holders. The present race try to throw back their guilt upon their dead and putrid ancestry. Or, if they fear, that in so doing, they may wound the reputation of their progenitors, they lay it on the head of the king of England!

But, let the slave-holder know, what the thunders of avenging Heaven will one day teach him, that he is more deeply guilty than his predecessors in crime. He breathes their spirit, and adopts their habits, and exhibits their character, amidst clearer light than they abused. Their history furnishes him with weighty lessons of instruction, which he ventures to disregard; urges, as in peals of thunder, impressive warnings on him, which he madly neglects. While he refuses to let go the sufferers, whom he holds in bondage, he is "treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath." As he would escape the storm, which for ages has

[*See Cover, page* 3.

been gathering in the heavens, let him withdraw his hand from his brother's throat. And let those, who soothe the fears and hush the conscience of this wicked man, by prophesying in his ears their dreams about *entailed iniquity*,* cease to deceive, and mislead, and destroy. Why will they palliate his crimes? Better try to save him from the judgments, which certainly await him. Better hold up before his face his guilt and danger, and try to stop him in his mad career. Thus only can they hope to deliver him from the wrongs and tears and blood of all the slaves, who have been consigned to chains, from the day when the first man-stealer placed his cloven feet on the shores of Africa to the present hour!

* On a speech of Mr. Breckenridge, published in the African Repository for August, 1831, Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, thus remarks. "We consider slavery to be an evil, which cannot, without producing evils greater than itself, be abolished, except by cautious, deliberate, and gradual measures. *The present generation did not produce, and are not therefore responsible for, the existence of the present form of society in our Southern communities. If the state of things is wrong, it should be set right, but only with due regard to the rights and interests of all parties.*"—See pp. 185, 186.

On a Sabbath evening, a slave-holder falls into deep meditation on the import and various bearings of the Saviour's golden rule: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." At length, in an under tone, he gives expression to the feelings of his laboring bosom. "No, no! I could never consent to be a slave! What, to be subject to the will of an irresponsible master! To be worked, and fed, and treated like a beast! To see my wife exposed, helpless and unprotected, to the pollution of unbridled lust! My children like swine driven to the market! My soul sickens at such thoughts! No, I could not be a *slave!* I could sooner embrace death in his most haggard form! Alas, the Bible has fixed a barbed shaft in my trembling heart! I can never more find peace, till I give up my brethren, whom I hold in bondage. But what have I here? Ah, a number of the African Repository. Let me shut up the Bible, and see what it contains. What? What is here? '*The present generation did not produce, and are not therefore responsible for the present form of society in our Southern communities.*' Had I found any thing like this in my Bible, I should have escaped those pangs, which have almost broke my heart. These words seem to soothe me. "*I am not responsible.*" But stop. Is this true? It strikes me with an impression altogether different from that, which the awful denunciations of the Bible make upon me. It does not threaten me with the wrath of God, if I refuse to 'break every yoke.' (Isa. lviii. 6.) Let me think a moment. Mr. Gurley is a pious man, *and a Christian minister.* He knows more about the Bible than myself. He professes too, to be engaged in labors for the benefit of colored men. And he says, 'I am *not responsible*,' at the very point, where a sense of my responsibility had well nigh crushed me. If I perish in my guilt, *be my damnation on his head!* Henceforth, I will read Mr. Gurley more, and my Bible less!"

THE INCENDIARY PUBLICATION BILL.

The editor of the Essex Gazette, thus remarked on this rescript of despotism just before it was worthily sent down the back stairs of the Senate:

"All pamphlets and papers written or printed touching the subject of Slavery" are to be prohibited. Let Daniel Webster then keep his Plymouth speech at home. Let no negligent postmaster suffer the Constitution of Massachusetts to slip through his fingers. Let him look sharply for the Declaration of Independence. It is an incendiary document, written by a pernicious old incendiary, by the name of Jefferson. And let him see to it that the writings of that same Tom. Jefferson and Geo. Wythe and Patrick Henry—three notorious fanatics—are kept out of Virginia. Let not the debates in the Virginia Legislature in 1832, be sent to their authors. Let a *cordon sanitaire* of Argus-eyed postmasters, men who are keen in detecting abolitionism, and who can

Sever and divide
"A hair 'twixt North and Northwest side!"

be set around the slave states. Let the Lynch clubs stand ready to lend assistance, by searching the pedlars and wooden nutmeg sellers from the North, lest amidst their "paper rags" the word "slavery" may be lurking. For ourselves, we warn the South to beware. If this Bill becomes a law, we mean to send the Constitution of Virginia and the Declaration of Independence right into the heart of Virginia. Let the "Ancient Dominion" then poise itself upon its sovereignty, turn its house of delegates into a great Lynch club, keep out these "incendiary publications;" and like Gov. Hamilton for his sugar, "go to death" for its negroes!

Will this bill pass the house? We think not—in the name of justice, reason, and republicanism we pray it may not.

MARRIAGES IN HAYTI.

Quoted from the Royal Jamaica Gazette, a pro-slavery paper.

"When it is considered, what the manners, habits, and religion of the former Colonists were, it is not astonishing that the Haytians of the present day should be deficient in certain moral obligations. Marriage, it is well known, was never considered by the French as a bond of society, much less as an ordination of religion; consequently women living with men, without marriage are to be found everywhere. In fact, this sort of connexion is by far the most frequent, but the woman is considered, and deservedly so, in every respect, as a married wife. In these connexions, cases of infidelity it would appear, are rare, the woman being highly respected in society, and enjoying, generally, the full confidence and esteem of her husband, shows an independence of mind, a devotion and affectionate concern for his interests, which could scarcely be credited; but so it is, in spite of our English prejudices, we are forced to allow they have all the merit, and preserve generally the respect paid to married women; in fact, the customs of the island oblige them to look upon these conventional marriages with equal respect as the legal ones.

Of late years, formal marriages are much more common, and will no doubt increase, as civilization progresses, as they are much more

encouraged by the laws. The condition of the female sex, however, appears to be somewhat degraded. The greater part of the household drudgery necessarily falls upon them, from the general want of servants. Females of respectable families are constantly obliged to perform the meanest offices, &c., and they have consequently little time for the cultivation of the mind. They are excellent seamstresses, and good housewives. Here and there you will hear a piano or a guitar, but in general, simple reading and writing are the limits of their acquirements. They are excellent dancers, and dress with great neatness and modesty. On gala days, nothing can be more admirable than the great taste, rich and simple "elegance" of their attire. They are peculiar in wearing a madrass handkerchief about their head, with high tortoise-shell combs, and although no absolute beauties may be found amongst them, they are generally pleasing, with handsome and expressive countenances, with fine black hair, and are elegant figures, especially those of the mixed classes. It appears that marriage in Hayti is attended with a great deal of formality. The parties first go before the Notary Public of the parish, or properly speaking, Officier Civil, with witnesses, who generally consist of the greater part of the families of each party, where the contract of marriage is formally registered; afterwards follows the religious ceremony. Benediction is performed in the church; the relations and friends of the parties all attend in full dress; the ceremony finishes with a dinner, ball, and supper. The whole is conducted with the greatest decorum and decency."

ANECDOTE OF JEAN PIERRE BOYER, PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

Before the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies, two Slaves fled from Jamaica in a sloop, which they steered to the island of Hayti. Upon landing they left the sloop and fled to the mountains. Boyer immediately informed the Governor of Jamaica of the fact and offered to return the sloop as soon as it should be properly claimed. A British captain was directed to proceed to Hayti and demand not only the sloop but the runaways. This officer and his second in command were received by Boyer with great politeness in his princely palace. They stated the claim to the sloop, and it was promptly restored. But it was a very "delicate" matter to ask the President of a "free negro" republic for the fugitive slaves. The gallant British captain hesitated, looked imploringly at his second, and revolved in his mind the alternative of broaching the question or going back in disgrace. At length he ventured to say, "Your Excellency is probably aware of the two slaves—" "Yes, and you are instructed to demand them, also!" exclaimed Boyer, starting from his seat and assuming a gravity any thing but agreeable to the *pale* faced applicants. A silence ensued of some minutes, every minute of which was an age to the captain, while Boyer strode sternly up and down the hall. At length he relieved the two officers from their embarrassment by saying, "I have heard that slaves sometimes escape from the colonies to England, will you please to inform me whether they are delivered up on claim of their masters?" "No," replied the captain, "every man is free in England; the law allows no slavery there, nor can the master recover his slave there." "Well," said Boyer, "tell your king it is just so in Hayti."

LETTER FROM A NEW ENGLAND CLERGYMAN.

In the summer of 1821 I journeyed in Virginia. It was there for the first time I saw slavery. Only the ordinary, every-day sights met my eyes, but these were enough to fill my soul with grief and indignation. I saw men and *women*, less than half clad, toiling in the fields with evident reluctance, "because forced to do it." Their spiritless countenances showed too plainly the want of intellectual and moral culture; and their squalid looks bespoke a sad deficiency of those things, which are needful for the body. The most shocking spectacle that my eyes beheld, was a drove of human beings driven along the road like cattle, (only with less of liberty, for they were handcuffed and chained together,) to be sold in some more southern state.

I repeatedly spoke to my fellow-travellers on the subject of slavery. Some were offended at my introducing the topic, and replied to me angrily. Others entered readily into conversation upon it, and were willing to hear all I then had to say. I was particularly interested in a conversation that I had with a gentleman of Fredericksburgh.

"The slave system works badly," said he; "I am heartily sick of it, and have in effect abandoned it on my plantation." "Ah, how is that," I replied, "what do you mean?" "Why," said he, "I found that the income of my plantation was barely enough to support the work people, and that the care of it was more trouble to me than it was worth. My overseers had proved to be scoundrels, and needed as much overseeing as the slaves. So I abandoned all thoughts of supporting my family on the proceeds of my plantation, and determined to remove into Fredericksburgh, and devote myself to my profession, (the law). I dismissed my white overseer, called 'the people' about me, and told them my plan—that I was going to leave them, and live with my family in the city, 15 or 20 miles distant. Now, 'my boys,' I wish you to take good care of the plantation, and let me see how well you can manage for yourselves and for me. 'Ay, ay, massa,' cried several of them, with looks full of meaning, 'you shall see how well we can do, Massa.' A generous ambition seemed to be, at once, lighted up in their bosoms. They soon after chose two of the most capable and judicious slaves on the plantation to be their leaders—the very ones I should have selected myself for the trust, if I had not preferred to let them manage as they pleased.

Some weeks after my removal to Fredericksburgh, there occurred one of the holidays, which it is customary to give to the slaves, and I thought it would be a good time to visit my plantation, and see how 'the people' were getting on. I went accordingly, and to my surprise found them all hard at work. 'Ah!' said I, 'how is this? Have you forgotten this is ——— day?'* 'Oh, no, massa,' they replied; 'but then you know such a crop would suffer, if we should let it alone to-day. And you know, massa, now we can take ——— day when we mind to,' they added, with countenances beaming with the con-

* The gentleman mentioned the name of the day, but I have forgotten it.

☞ *See page 3d of the cover.*

sciousness of some freedom. Of course I assented, right glad to find they took so much more interest than before in the welfare of the plantation. Formerly it had never seemed to be any concern of theirs, whether the crops were abundant or scanty, got in well or ill.

Five or six weeks afterwards, a report came to me from some of the neighbors, that there was an insurrection upon my plantation. 'Poh,' said I to the messenger, 'that cannot be, for they have nothing there to rise against.' However, out of respect to their fears, I immediately mounted my horse, and went to see what the disturbance was. The gate of the plantation was thrown open at my approach, and I was received by 'my people' with every expression of joy. They were dressed in their best attire, and were devoting the day to frolic, in lieu of the ——— day on which they had worked."

This narrative interested me deeply then, although I did not perceive then, as I do now, how much it proved. I inquired of the gentleman, how long his plantation had been thus in the hands of his slaves, or 'people' as he called them, and what had been the results of the experiment? He replied that it was then about three years since his removal into Fredericksburgh—and that there had been much less disturbance and trouble of any kind on his plantation than formerly—that his 'people' were every way in better condition than they used to be—and that the plantation had been more profitable to him than ever.

Yours truly,
S. J. M.

The following statements are from a London paper, March 23d, 1836.

In the House of Correction, at Kingston, Jamaica, by the testimony of Lord Sligo, at the time he wrote, there were but *ten* inmates; while under the slavery system, there were never less than fifty. The Governor of Demerara, also, asserted that since the act of abolition, not a single instance had occurred of a negro being punished for an assault on a white; and the despatches from all the governors proved "that the most perfect industry, order, and tranquillity, prevailed throughout the island."

In regard to produce, it was reported by Sir Carmichael Smith that the amount of sugar entered for exportation at Demerara during the first year of emancipation, exceeded that of a year of slavery by 2,466 hogsheads, and taking into view the loss of time, the increase was not less than 4,200 hogsheads, or a quarter of the whole.

The member of Parliament from Lymington, who held a large property in Antigua, (where the apprenticeship was abandoned for immediate emancipation,) stated, that for nine years previous that he held the property, he had suffered an aggregate loss of not less than 7,000*l*, but that since the emancipation he had rented it for 1,200*l* per annum for three years, after which the rent was fixed at 1,500 a year.

[From the N. Y. Evening Post.]

EFFECTS OF EMANCIPATION.

The results of the British Emancipation Bill, in a pecuniary point of view, are truly surprising. To the astonishment of even the most sanguine friends of abolition, the plantations of the colonies are more productive, more easily managed, and accepted as security for higher sums on mortgage than ever they were under the slave system. The following is an official statement of the comparative quantities of the great staples of West Indian produce exported from Georgetown (Demarara) and Berbice, in the first quarter of the present year, and the three preceding years:

From Georgetown, (Demarara.)

Average exports of the first quarter of the three years preceding emancipation.		Export during corresponding qr. of present year.	Increase since emancipation.	Decrease since emancipation.
Sugar—Hogsheads,	12,248	14,742	2,494	
Tierces,	68	779	711	
Casks,	1,379	1,099		208
Rum—Puncheons,	5,510	5,510		
Hogsheads,	1,136	1,408	272	
Barrels,	301	358	57	
Molasses—Hogsheads,	8,036	8,786	750	
Coffee—Pounds,	496,838	602,700	105,862	
Cotton—Bales,	805	718		87

Being an increase on the whole of about twenty per cent.

From Berbice.

Average exports of the first quarter of the three years before emancipation.		Export during corresponding qr. of present year.	Increase since emancipation.	Decrease since emancipation.
Sugar—Hogsheads,	2,638	4,347	1,709	
Tierces,	200	444	244	
Barrels,	160	401	241	
Rum—Puncheons,	1,069	1,579	510	
Hogsheads,	1,526	248		1,278
Barrels,	5	17	8	
Molasses—Hogsheads,	797	,308	511	
Coffee—Pounds,	286,500	596,400	309,900	
Cotton—Bales,	334	374	40	

Being an increase on the whole of about fifty per cent., and on coffee of about one hundred per cent.!

The above statements are taken from the Standard, an English journal which predicted nothing but ruin to the planters from the abolition of slavery.

The hundred million indemnity thus appears to have been a compensation of a novel kind, a compensation for being made richer.

THE ENNOBLING INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.

Extract from the will of William Clarke, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica, in the Secretary's office of that island:—"It is also my wish and desire that my executors, hereinafter mentioned, do manumit my three reputed brown children by Rose, viz., Eleanor Clarke, Janet Clarke, and John Clarke; and that my executors, hereinafter mentioned, do purchase a negro girl for each of my reputed brown daughters aforesaid, as soon as convenient after the debts are paid. And it is my wish and desire that THEIR MOTHER, Rose, shall attend, as a slave, on my two reputed daughters aforesaid, during the first ten years."—*Twenty Millions thrown away &c.*

LOVE OF FREEDOM BY NEGROES.

Immediately after the British statute had passed which PROFESSED to emancipate the slaves in our own West Indian colonies, I visited St. Thomas, a little sugar island belonging to the Danes. All the blacks there speak English, as St. Thomas was for many years during the last war in the possession of the British. On landing, I addressed one of the black slaves as a Dane; he instantly replied in very pure English, free from the usual colonial "patois," "I am an Englishman born—I am not a Dane." "What, were you not born a subject of Denmark?" "No, sir; when I was born the flag of Great Britain was over that fort, and would to God it was there still: I should now be a free man, with my other fellow-subjects in the British islands. It was a bad day for the poor slaves when the English gave up St. Thomas and Santa Cruz to the Danes—they will never have the heart to make us poor blacks free; but we who were born under England's flag ought to be free. We are Britons, and ought not to be slaves to Danes."—*Ibid.*

THE GAG LAW.

The difficulty of gagging by *law* is, that it is necessarily so general and sweeping that it often most oppresses those for whose benefit it is resorted to. After the slaveholders have made the whole South as dark as a cellar to keep the *northern light* from the slaves, they themselves are the persons who have got to stay there and enjoy the darkness. It is upon *their* newspapers and correspondence, and not ours, that their champion, Calhoun, would set the postmaster's clerks a pillaging. We are not surprised therefore that the Natchez Courier, in condemning the casting vote of Mr. Van Buren in favor of the *gag law*, should ask, "Where is the man in the South who would not rather receive a bushel of abolition trash, (which he can easily burn,) than to have his own private affairs pried into by every rascally deputy postmaster, or clerk, who might choose to say he suspected they contained incendiary matter?"

THE CAUSE OF RUIN TO ST. DOMINGO.

The French traveller, M. Robin, from whose pages we have made several extracts in this number, assigns a cause for the destruction of the white colonists of St. Domingo. That cause is now in full operation in our country. As M. Robin wrote while the scenes of St. Domingo were fresh, and as he wielded the pen of a philosopher, his remarks are worthy of consideration. He says:—

"The sentiment of the colonies, and especially of Louisiana, is that the people of color should never be permitted to rise to the prerogatives of the whites. This sentiment springs from a pride which, always exclusive, insulates and weakens; it is the pride which has ruined St. Domingo and has rendered its revolution so tyrannical. If the proud colonists had not odiously separated themselves from the mulattoes to whom they had given life, and if they had not still more extravagantly divided themselves into the *little* and *great whites*, into whites not resident, and resident on the coffee and sugar estates, the most flourishing colony in the world would not have been changed to a frightful desert. And with these Louisianians, who have now among them the fugitive wrecks of those proud colonists, just as in St. Domingo, but with still greater folly, I have seen an arrogant class of sugar-growers, treating with disdain a political union with the more modest class of corn-growers; the results of this may be recollected.* As in St. Domingo the black blood has become so impure, that the smallest portion of it degrades the white blood."

* * * * * *

"This prejudice of the necessity of an immeasurable distance between the two colors, is certainly the greatest scourge of the colonies and of European commerce. By restraining to so small a number the privileges of citizens, we see this small number exposed to the dangers of internal revolutions; and by their weakness in regard to invasions from abroad, life and fortune there become precarious, which is equally injurious to moral and intellectual advancement. The primordial and indelible title to consideration, being that one is *white*, he contents himself to do without being either useful, virtuous, or wise—he believes himself above these qualities inasmuch as the colored man in whom they may be met with is still nevertheless an abject; and these same men of color, though free, not being able to gain respect by good morals and intelligence, remain in their degradation; they have indeed, besides the vices of the whites, all those which pertain to their condition."—*Tom. 3, pp. 210—212.*

* See Tom. 2. chap. 57.

ANECDOTES OF SLAVES.

"While I was at New Orleans, a person whose slave had fled, offered a reward of twelve piastres to any one who would bring him back. A negro slave brought him back, and when the reward of twelve piastres was offered, he replied, *The only reward I ask, is that you would pardon him whom I have brought back;* the master accepted the proposition and kept the money. I found that this master had the soul of a slave, and the negro that of a master. I have seen in Martinique a young negro who, having earned sufficient for his ransom, preferred to remain a slave and ransom his mother.

"Among the fugitives from St. Domingo who arrived in Louisiana, there were some whose slaves followed them from attachment. The reward of these too faithful servants has been to be *inhumanly sold!*"

Robin's Travels, Tom. 3, p. 203.

LOVE OF LIBERTY.

[From the Commercial Advertiser, 1822.]

"The captain of a vessel from North Carolina called upon the police for advisement respecting a slave he had unconsciously brought away in his vessel, under the following curious circumstances:—Three or four days after he had got to sea, he began to be haunted every hour with tones of distress, seemingly proceeding from a human voice, in the very lowest part of the vessel. A particular scrutiny was finally instituted, and it was concluded that the creature, whatever or whoever it might be, must be confined down in the run, under the cabin floor; and, on boring a hole with an auger, and demanding '*Who's there?*' a feeble voice responded, '*Poor negro, massa!*' It was clear enough, then, that some runaway negro had hid himself there before they sailed, trusting to Providence for his ultimate escape. Having discovered him, however, it was impossible to give him relief, for the captain had stowed even the cabin so completely full with cotton, as but just to leave room for a small table for himself and the mate to eat on; and as for unloading at sea, that was pretty much out of the question. Accordingly, there he had to lie, stretched at full length, for a tedious interval of *thirteen* days, till the vessel arrived in port and unloaded, receiving his food and drink through the auger hole.

"The fellow's story is, now he is released, that being determined to get away from slavery, he supplied himself with eggs and biscuit, and some jugs of water; which latter he was just on the point of depositing in his lurking-place, when he discovered the captain at a distance, coming on board, and had to hurry down as fast as possible, and leave them; that he lived on nothing but his eggs and biscuit, till discovered by the captain; not even getting a drop of water, except what he had the good fortune to catch in his hand one day, when a vessel of water in the cabin was upset during a squall, and some of it ran down through the cracks of the floor, over him."

That the captain should confess to the *police* the sin which he thus "unconsciously" committed, is not very creditable to his humanity; even the editor of the *Commercial* thought the man "should, surely, never again be brought under the lash of a task-master."—Ed.

The following tale of horror illustrates the cheapness of human life, where man is made an article of merchandise. Slavery makes murder a mere trespass upon property! The story may be found in a note to Wilberforce's Appeal, page 57.

Extract of a letter from the Attorney-General of Barbadoes, to the Governor of the Island, Lord Seaforth.

"A Mr. ——, the manager of a plantation in the neighborhood, had some months before purchased an African lad, who was much attached to his person, and slept in a passage contiguous to his chamber. On Sunday night there was an alarm of fire in the plantation, which induced Mr. —— to go out hastily, and the next morning he missed the lad, who he supposed intended to follow him in the night, and had mistaken his way. He sent to his neighbors, and to Mr. C. among the rest, to inform them that his African lad had accidentally strayed from him; that he could not speak a word of English, and that possibly he might be found breaking canes, or taking something else for his support; in which case, he requested that they would not injure him, but return him, and he, Mr. —— himself, would pay any damage he might have committed. A day or two after, the owner of the boy was informed that Messrs. C. and H. had killed a negro in a neighboring gully, and buried him there. He went to Mr. C. to inquire into the truth of the report, and intended to have the grave opened, to see whether it was his African lad. *Mr. C. told him, a negro had been killed and buried there, but assured him it was not his, for he knew him very well, and he need not be at the trouble of opening the grave. Upon this the owner went away satisfied.* But receiving further information, which left no doubt upon his mind that it was his negro, he returned and opened the grave, and found it to be so. I was his leading counsel, and the facts stated in my brief were as follows: That C. and H. being informed that there was a negro lurking in the gully, went armed with muskets, and took several negro men with them. The poor African, seeing a parcel of men coming to attack him, was frightened; he took up a stone to defend himself, and retreated into a cleft rock, where they could not easily come at him; they then went for some trash, put it into the crevices of the rock behind him, and set it on fire: after it had burnt so as to scorch the poor fellow, he ran into a pool of water close by; they sent a negro to bring him out, and he threw the stone at the negro; upon which the two white men fired several times at him with the guns loaded with shot, and the negroes pelted him with stones. He was at length dragged out of the pool in a dying condition, for he had not only received several bruises from the stones, but his breast was so pierced with the shot, that it was like a colander. *The white savages ordered the negroes to dig a grave; and whilst they were digging it, the poor creature made signs of begging for water, which was not given to him; but as soon as the grave was dug, he was thrown into it, and covered over; and there seems to be some doubt whether he was then quite dead.* C. and H. deny this; but the owner assured me he could prove it by more than one witness; and I have reason to believe it to be true, because on the day of trial C. and H. did not suffer the cause to

[*See p. 3 of the cover.*]

come to a hearing, but paid the penalties and costs of suit, which it is not supposed they would have done, had they been innocent.

"I have the honor to be, &c."

Mr. Wilberforce proceeds to remark:

"The same transaction, with another far more dreadful murder, in which there was a deliberate ingenuity of cruelty, which almost exceeds belief, but of which I will spare my readers the recital, is related, with scarcely any variation as to circumstances, by the advocate-general, who, as well as the gentleman of whose estate the criminal was the manager, and who was at the time absent, expressed their most lively indignation against such horrid cruelty. It may be proper to remark, that the story of the poor boy strikingly shows that such protection as the negro slave occasionally receives from the laws, is too often to be ascribed rather to the master's care of his property, than to any more generous motive. The master, in this case, when he had only reason to believe that *a* negro had been killed and buried out of the way, and not that it was his own slave, goes away satisfied. Is there a human being who in this country would have so done? Again, it is a suggestion which the circumstances of the story enforce upon us, that the crowd which was now collected, instead of being shocked at such barbarity, were rather abettors of it; and then we hear the white savages (as the attorney-general justly styles them) order the negroes who were present to dig a grave for their wretched countryman. They knew their estate too well to refuse; and accordingly, with a promptitude of obedience which, with all our ideas of their sunk and prostrate spirits, must surprise us, they immediately executed the order."

THE DESTRUCTION OF TYRANNIES.

The slave-holders and their apologists tell us very frequently, that our abolition efforts only put the masters under the *necessity* of restricting the privileges of their slaves; so that, instead of breaking, we only aggravate and eternize the chain of slavery. Do they say this without a blush? Let them no longer accuse us of harshness for calling them tyrants. This very plea, by which they would stop our interference, what is it but a confession that they are far gone in tyranny? We beg these gentlemen slave-holders just to look at their own faces in a mirror of the best plate glass, recently made in Paris;—as follows:

"That which destroys all tyrannies, and will destroy them faster now than ever, is the impossibility of their checking themselves in their ways. Some fatality draws them on; one necessity begets another, so that, being forced *always to make their oppression heavier*, always to sink themselves deeper in wickedness, they at last meet another necessity superior to that which pushes them on—the invincible necessity of the laws which govern human nature. Arrived there, they can neither advance nor retreat;—the past crushes them against the future."—*Abbé de La Mennais.*

The following article is from an English paper of some two years ago, and was evidently taken from one of the journals of Charleston, S. C.—the city which rejoices in the *patriarch*, George McDuffie:

THE LAND OF THE FREE.

"In an American newspaper, published in one of the Southern States, we find the following:

'LINES TO THE AMERICAN FLAG.

'Bear up the standard, bear it high,
Until it flash against the sky,
The banner of the FREE
Oh! let it there in splendor float,
To martial drum and bugle note,
That all the world may see;

'And, gazing on its stripes and stars,
Look for their FREEDOM not afar,
But beaming in the East.
Ring forth the clarion's thrilling peal,
That every knight of heart and steel
May sit at FREEDOM's feast.

Flag of the FREE! flag of the FREE!
'Tis THINE ALONE to claim the knee,
The homage of the brave,' &c.

"The 'freedom,' it would seem, is only for the '*Knights of heart and steel*,' for in the self same newspaper we find the following advertisements touching a numerous class of Americans who happen to be of a darker complexion than the 'Knights of heart and steel:'

"No. I.—'Negroes.—A lot of uncommonly likely negroes for sale—fellows and boys. Sold for no fault. Inquire,' &c.

"2.—'Ten dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, a negro boy named January; rather chunky built, with thick cheeks or jaws. The small part of his right leg having been broke, or badly hurt, shows different from the left, which is notable; and he says done by a horse when he was small. Any person that will bring him to me, or lodge him in some safe jail so that I may get him, shall have the above reward from me.—William Watson.'

"3.—'Negro men wanted.—Cash will be paid for negro men from 18 to 30 years old Apply at the store of Graham and Hope.'

"4.—'The undersigned will sell, by public auction, without reserve, 123 negroes,' &c.

"5.—'For sale, by private contract, a likely negro woman; a negro girl and boy, brother and sister. Sold for no fault, and warranted sound. Terms, cash.'

"6.—'Negroes wanted.—Cash will be paid for likely negroes of both sexes, from the age of 10 to 20 years. Persons having such to dispose of, may apply to Hugh M'Donald.'

"7.—'Brought to Augusta jail, on the 17th instant, a negro man who calls himself Riley. The owner is requested to come forward, pay expenses, and take him from jail.'

"8.—'This day, the 6th instant, will be sold, at the North of the Exchange, at eleven o'clock, a WENCH, about 38 years old, a field hand, with her child, 10 months old. Also a WENCH, 45 years old, a good dairy woman, poultry-minder, and nurse.—Conditions, cash.'

[*See p. 3 of the cover.*]

"9.—'Cash! cash! cash!—The highest prices will be given for negroes of every description. Apply in Beaufair street, one door from Coming street.'

"10.—'Fifty dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, his negro woman, Patsey—about 45 years old. She has two scars on the right cheek, made by the whip. The above reward will be given to any person who will deliver her to the subscriber; or $25 if confined in any jail, so that I can get her. If she was not stolen, it is expected that she has endeavored to get back to Virginia, where she was raised. She was bought of John Lane, a negro speculator.—Henry Bird.'

"And yet, notwithstanding all this openly avowed traffic in slaves, Jonathan would have the world believe that his country is *par* excellence 'the Land of the Free!' *Fiddle-de-dee*, brother Jonathan;—your vaunted '*stripes*' remind us of the 'marks of the whip' on the face of Mr. Bird's negro woman, Patsey; and 'all the world may see' that your '*stars*' are bedimmed with the sighs and groans of the thousands and tens of thousands of human beings whom you detain in hopeless slavery."—*Morning Herald.*

MAHOMETANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Extract of a letter from E. S. Abdy, Esq.

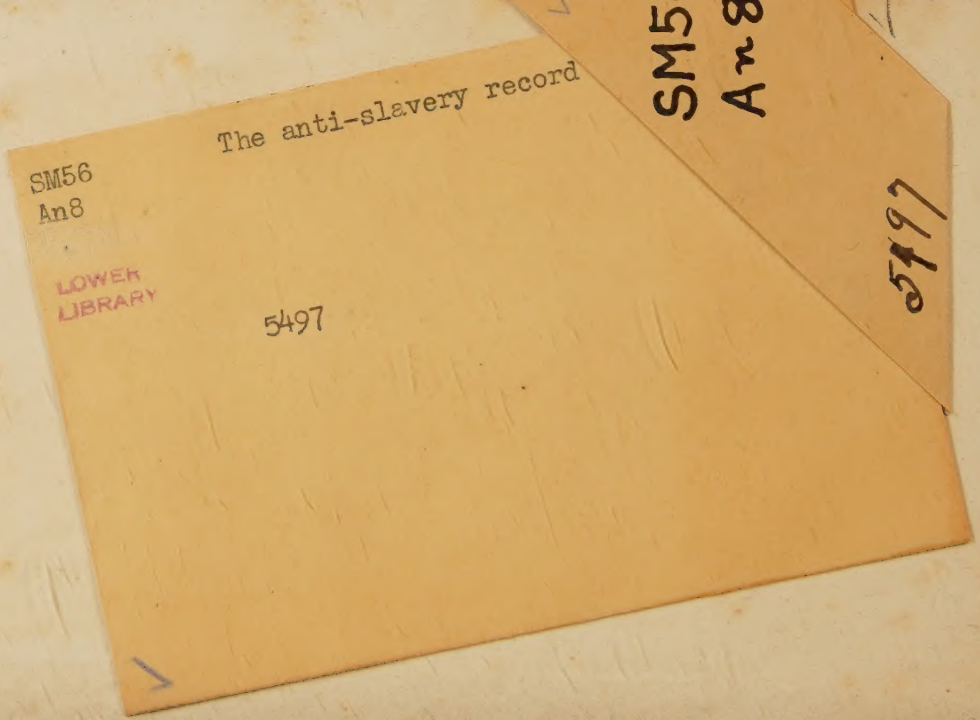
"The other day I was introduced to the Turkish chargé d' affaires. I asked him if there was any prejudice in his country against the blacks. His reply was that no Turk ever despised any one on account of his skin. 'I have African slaves,' he added,—'when they behave ill, I do not sell them, as some do—*I dismiss them from my service.* They take their meals in common with those of their own rank in life, without distinction of color. It would be against the principles of the Mahometan religion to treat any human being with disdain, or to suppose that God was a capricious or a partial parent in bestowing various forms and tints on his children.' Ought not Christians to blush at the contrast? Among the Turks and Persians, negroes rise to the highest offices in the state."

TEN DOLLARS REWARD Will be given for the apprehension and delivery of my negro woman named Libby, or Lucy, as she sometimes calls herself, who absconded the evening of the 21st inst. The said Libby is about 30 years old, 5 feet high, stout built, with very large lips, and very much *scarred* about the neck and ears, *occasioned by whipping;* had on when she left a blue striped domestic frock, and old plaid cloak, with a handkerchief tied round her ears, as she commonly wears it *to hide the scars.* She was seen Friday at the Orange Grove, which quite likely she may be lurking there yet. ROBERT NICOLL,

Dec. 29—71-tf. Dauphin-st., between Emmanuel and Conception.

The above is taken from the Mobile Commercial Advertiser. Now, what must be the public feeling—the nether mill-stone hardness of the public heart—where a man dares to put his *name* to such an advertisement?—Ed.

Date Due


The anti-slavery record
SM56
An8
LOWER
LIBRARY
5497
SM5
An8
5497